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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study guide is to provide a structured aid for developing an understanding of the basic differences between, and the values of, democracy and communism. It is designed to highlight the differences in the development and establishment of these two systems, the basic values upon which each is founded, the differences in their respective economic systems and the accomplishments of these systems, the animosity that has risen between democracy and communism and the clash that has followed this animosity. The guide is not geared to any specified text, but features a position which makes it possible to have discussions of key issues suggested for a course of study. In grades 10-12 it may be used with either world history, American history, economics, or political science. Background information preceding the topical outlines, the chronological structure, and the stated concepts offer various approaches to teaching youth the facts about the fundamentals; history, and nature of totalitarianism as well as the foundation and nature of American democracy. Sources are given for supplementary printed and audiovisual materials of instruction. (JMB)

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A STUDY OF TOTALITARIANISM AND DEMOCRACY

Guide For Teaching Comparative Government

GRADES 10-12

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MESSAGE FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT

It is increasingly important for all Americans to be well informed about vital current issues throughout the world as well as in our own country.

The South Carolina Department of Education has advocated the study of comparative government for many years. Today it is even more important to teach today's youth the facts about the fundamentals, history and nature of totalitarianism as well as the foundations and nature of American democracy.

This guide presents a revealing comparative study of the political, economic, scientific, cultural, religious and educational aspects of communism and democracy, as well as a synopsis of the historical development of both forms of government. It gives valuable suggestions for incorporating a unit of comparative government in the high school curriculum and sources for supplementary printed and audiovisual materials of instruction.

—Cyril B. Busbee
State Superintendent of Education

INTRODUCTION

With the first printing of *Totalitarianism, Communism versus Democracy* in 1967, the State Department of Education met a pressing demand for a thorough study of the "isms," especially communism and totalitarianism views.

The proof of its success is found in a continuous demand for it from our senior high teachers of social studies. They have found that it is not geared to any specified text, but that it features a position which makes it possible to have discussions of key issues suggested for a course of study. In grades 10-12 it may be used with either world history, American history, economics or political science.

The guide was the result of the work done by diligent and competent educators. In it will be found various approaches and teaching techniques by suggested topical outlines, chronological treatment, and meaningful concept development.

There can be no lethargy in meeting the challenges to freedom. With this second printing it is our sincere hope that teachers will continue to make liberal use of this material in making comparative studies of political and economic systems.

—W. Bruce Crowley, Director
Office of General Education

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INSTRUCTION ABOUT COMMUNISM

The study of communism is not new in the schools of South Carolina. In 1957 the South Carolina State Department of Education included communism as part of the Guide for the Teaching of all Social Studies. We are now treating the communists' challenge to the United States and the free world with greater depth and scope as a significant part of the school curriculum.

There is a concern to develop in students: (1) the ability and capacity to understand basic terminology and facts, (2) the ability to perceive and comprehend relationships, and (3) the ability and competency to think critically and analytically, to interpret and evaluate materials.

It is the purpose of education in the United States to identify the principles set forth by our founding fathers and their counterparts of this century. Outstanding among these principles is the simple but profound belief that *each individual has dignity and worth.*

The forces of education seek to render a service to the individual and to society by strengthening and unifying the American concept of life in a free society.

Patriotism should develop as the result of understanding history and social sciences along with literature and the other disciplines which are part of the total curriculum.

Patriotism in the true sense of the word is the result of an accumulation of knowledge, discernment, conviction, behavior, and acceptance of civic responsibility in a positive sense.

American history students must understand the following aspects of American life in order to combat effectively conflicting ideologies and philosophies of government:

1. American political institutions, principles, issues, and leaders, past and present;
2. American economic principles and developments;
3. Foreign affairs;
4. Social movements and population changes in our nation;
5. Colonial and international developments;
6. Geographical influences.

The student should know why and how the present came to be and why, how, and where we are involved around the world. The objective of the study includes the necessity for the discovery of the ideas and principles that can be effectively used in solving our problems.

J. Edgar Hoover has a word of caution for those who teach and those who learn about communism and world affairs. He states:

> "Knowing what communism really is and how it operates will also help us to avoid the danger of confusing communism with legitimate dissent on controversial issues. Communism feeds on social ferment. On both the local and national levels, the Com-

munist Party U.S.A. is continually exploiting social, economic, and political grievances for its own tactical purposes. For this reason, the 'party line' will frequently coincide with the views of many non-Communists on specific issues. We must not, therefore, indiscriminately label as Communists those whose opinions on a particular question may on occasion parallel the official party position. We must also guard against the tendency to characterize as Communists those who merely disagree with us or who advocate unorthodox or unpopular beliefs."[1]

Informed persons must realize that recklessly accusing those who might differ with certain aspects of the approach to combating communism contributes nothing to the general welfare and can do great harm.

J. Edgar Hoover has also issued this significant statement:

"When anyone is erroneously branded a Communist, it not only constitutes an injustice to the individual but also helps communism by diffusing the strength of anti-communist forces. In combating communism, we must beware of vigilante action. The responsibilities of citizens are to be certain of the facts and to report these facts to the proper authorities. Knowledge of communism is only the first phase of the battle. This knowledge must be augmented by continuous revitalization of our inherently superior strength through the practical, daily exercise and development of our democratic principles."[2]

COMMUNIST ILLUSION AND DEMOCRATIC REALITY

It is for teachers to set the record straight in a sincere and profound study of the *who, what, when, where, which, why,* and *how* of communism. This presents an involved and demanding challenge. It is no small undertaking.

Along with the imparting of revealing and factual knowledge, the teacher must inspire the student to work and to discharge with greater wisdom the responsibilities of democratic citizenship.

Thus, the student will be taught to face the future with faith and with confidence that the foundations of American freedom can be kept secure. Having obtained a more accurate historical perspective, the student should also be able to understand better this country's position in the world.

In this study of communism, there should be some instruction in the area of economics with special reference to the relationship of business and international trade in the United States. This is essential if the student is to be able

[1] J. Edgar Hoover (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Justice. Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1959 p. 5).

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

to form clear-cut insights regarding contrasting economic systems. Sound history courses certainly emphasize great ideas as they relate to historical development. Many of these concepts are economic in nature.

The production of goods and services; the satisfaction of human wants; the element of scarcity; costs, profits, business cycles, the law of supply and demand, economic growth; and the general economics of the market place are all significant factors in understanding systems of government as well as the role of economics in the historical evolution of the United States.

The essential objectives for the purpose of understanding the *economics* of communism in contrast to the American economic system are:

1. To provide a fundamental education in economic concepts and problems of our time.
2. To understand the basic organization and operation of everyday economic life.
3. To assist in mastering the technique of making sound, rational, and scientific economic analyses and judgments.
4. To comprehend the kind and theory of our economy to provide a framework for understanding diverse systems of other nations.
5. To use the economic principles as tools to solve problems that arise in relation to other governmental systems.

Communism is something more than an economic or governmental system. The historian Toynbee has rightfully called it "a godless or secular religion with very seeming appeals of its own." It appeals to the emotions. It is a stimulant to the fanatic; its activities attract the institution leaders and classes of people who would oppose the communist goals. It has a distinctive aspect that appeals to its converts. It is imperative that we recognize both its threat and the challenge.

At the same time it is of significance that to date no country with power of free choice in the world has accepted communism in a free election.

Each student must develop an awareness of the responsible role he will necessarily assume as a productive citizen in the preservation and strengthening of the United States as a democratic republic. The threat is plain.

In 1920 Lenin made this statement:

> "As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

The student should have the opportunity for sound learning so that, in this divided world, his knowledge of the United States will be of sufficient depth and breadth to meet the opposing forces and defeat them.

DEFINING COMMUNISM

In thinking about communism, one generally thinks first of the loss of freedom by the individual. Under communism the manner in which a person

shall live is set by the State to require the citizen to serve the State. As Americans we are naturally concerned about individual freedom and self-determinism, but beyond this point, our knowledge of the true nature and scope of communism is often vague.

A simple explanation or short definition of communism is impossible. One *dictionary* gives this definition:

> A doctrine and program based upon revolutionary Marxian socialism as developed by N. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, which interprets history as a relentless class war eventually to result everywhere in the victory of the proletariat and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and which calls for regulation of all social, economic, and cultural activities through the agency of a single authoritarian party as the leader of the proletariat in all countries so as to achieve its ultimate objectives, a classless society and the establishment of a world union of socialist soviet republics.[3]

An attempt to over-simplify the true nature of communism serves no purpose. A depth study is necessary. Communism is (1) an economic system, (2) a plan of revolutionary expansion to dominate the world, (3) an organized device to change society, (4) a trained group or army of dedicated workers who utilize carefully planned tactics to gain and maintain political control, and behind it all, (5) a philosophy, a way of life.

In actual operation it is a socio-political system of ruthless, one-party absolutism in which a small number of men control the governmental functions from the top echelons of the party.

The type of communism conceived and advocated by Karl Marx, Fredrich Engles, Leon Trotsky, N. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khrushchev and Breshnev and Kosygnin has not yet developed in Russia, China, North Korea, North Viet Nam, Cuba, or any of the other countries where it has been established. All have failed to realize the Marxist-Leninist ideal.

The fundamental ideals of communism that have in a large measure *failed to develop* in any communist country are:

1. An absolute classless society;
2. Worker management of economic business affairs;
3. A highly planned and controlled state economic system based upon the best in technology and science;
4. Elimination of problems of earning a livelihood;
5. Art and science flourishing in a favorable atmosphere;
6. The elimination of conflicts of interests between urban and rural communities or different business or industrial establishments;

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[3] *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*. G. & C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1960.

7. Successful elimination of private ownership in favor of state-operated means of producing goods and services;
8. A withering away of state government.

What then does a fanatically indoctrinated communist believe?
The communist holds:

1. That allegiance to the movement of world communism supersedes any loyalty to one's country;
2. That the competitive free enterprise system or the economics of the market place is a failure and leads to oppression of the working man;
3. That the state socialist economic approach is the answer to all inequity and inefficiency in business and industrial operations;
4. That the United States is a war-mongering nation and a planned aggressive nation with imperialism as one of its chief objectives and thrives on antagonism and colonialism.
5. That world problems are essentially the result of ownership of private property, colonialism, imperialistic expansionism and capitalism;
6. That only the Commuist Party is infallible;
7. That communism will not be denied in its growth and development—it is unstoppable, irrepressible;
8. That freedom in capitalist nations is a facade;
9. That the unskilled and skilled laborers in the United States are distressed victims of employers' unfair practices;
10. That the individual is a servant to the state;
11. That there is no God, there is no life hereafter, and that religious belief is a drug to the people.

Students should have the opportunity to analyze communist ideals. Facts should be gleaned from reputable, documented sources to assist students in critical thinking to refute the extravagant and unproved claims of the followers of communism.

Each student should be able to recognize and understand the jargon of the communist. They should realize that the potent political leaders of communism will promote a continuing fight, a verbal *cold* or *hot* war to further the objectives of communism. Students should know that governmental control over the people of a dominated country is exerted in three major ways:

1. economically,
2. politically,
3. in social relations.

Where then does communism find its followers? What kinds of people accept this deceptive tyranny? In a large measure, those who are game for communism include people in extreme proverty and living under conditions of social and governmental injustices. There are also adventurers, nonconformists, uninformed idealists, minority groups, fanatics, faithless, and unhappy people, who often fall prey to the trained communist organizer with his predictions

that have repeatedly been proved false. These people unwittingly fall for promises that they consider can remedy their ills. The policy of communistic subversion continues making capital of the uninformed and oppressed.

The standard tools of fear and fabrication are used to convince victims and bring them into active party work. Once ensnared in the web of the party operation, the deceived then witness the numerous controls first hand. They must accept the lock-step orders, the restricted news, the limited freedom of speech, the use of subterfuge, the falsehoods, the restrictions on art and music, the seizure of goods, the search of homes, and the jobs they must do for wages determined by governmental edict.

WHAT IS "THE PARTY"?

The Communist Party, after seizing control in Russia, became the organ that provided leadership and guidance of the masses of people. The dictator in power controlled all party activity. The party has a definite power and political structure, described as follows:

The Communist Party embraces the *political* and *economic* philosophy of communism serving as the functionary, the organizational instrument, and the ruthless disciplinarian over all. The party *group* has no respect for persons. Their activity is strongly militant, intolerant of any opposition, and thoroughly ruthless in dealing with its enemies. The Communist Party is the only party permissible; any attempt to establish another is a crime.

The unit of basic organization is called a *cell.* (This term is not always used, particularly in the United States.) Each cell operates independently but has a responsibility to the higher authority in the party structure. Cells are combined into *district committees, regional committees,* and finally a *central committee.*

These unit power groups do not concern themselves with democratic processes or free elections. Proof of this lies in the fact that they accept the authoritarian dictatorship of the proletariat.

TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

The teacher selected for the teaching of communism should be a person vitally interested in government and world affairs. A competent teacher will sense the responsibility in accomplishing the objectives of teaching and understanding communism. The following recommendations are made as a part of the building of a sound unit of instruction:

GENERALIZATIONS

Recognizing that in the United States the basic aim of education is to develop the potential of the individual with sound guidance, teachers should encourage students' freedom of inquiry, critical and analytical thinking, and sense of responsible action in all areas of public life.

The student must build a basic understanding of the United States' governmental and economic system to permit him to make sound judgments as he considers differences between the democratic republican form of government and

a totalitarian dictatorship. An appreciation of the country's great historical documents and leaders of the past is essential to the creation of a climate conducive to learning the political, economic, and social aspects of the society in which we live. A clearly objective investigation of the social, political, and economic life in communist-captive countries will provide information to enable the student to understand inconsistencies and shortcomings of the communist system.

A planned, informative, and comprehensive study of communism includes an insight into the theory and ideology of its originators and latter-day interpreters. Full recognition is given to the fact that the United States necessarily provides the leadership to halt and to overcome the world communist movement, which is dedicated to the destruction of all free and truly democratic nations.

In presenting the nature of the challenge of communism, the study should be aimed at helping the student discover the real and inevitable impact of communism once in power. Students should, as a result, be motivated to do independent reading, reference, and research work. To realize this objective, prudent selection of reliable instructional materials and the use of stimulating teaching techniques are necessary.

Great documents of the United States, such as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, should be studied and reviewed as background for understanding concepts that will be introduced later in the study.

The wide variety of reliable and descriptive films, filmstrips, and recordings now available will add profound and comprehensive content materials to the study of communism. Students often find the personal experiences of knowledgeable resource speakers intriguing, as well as informative. Teachers should exercise discretion in the acquisition of speakers to guarantee accurate experiences that would contribute to the investigation of communism. It is important that each teacher plan a program that goes beyond one textbook, one resource person, and superficial treatment of all the issues.

Basic Concepts
COMMUNISM

1. The Communist Party, a militant organization, should not be considered a legitimate political party. The power of the communist state disregards the rights and freedoms of individuals.
2. The all-powerful communistic state formulates all policy and directs the individual. The movement of world communism is to conquer the entire world, using any means that is necessary, including cold or hot war, terror, fear, deceit, propaganda, and infiltration.
3. Communist powers are imperialistic and expansionist.
4. Those who occupy powerful positions of leadership as members of the Communist Party along with secret policy, maintain internal control of the Communist Party activity.
5. Despite repeated changes in their agricultural and technological programs, communist countries have not been able to provide a decent standard of

living for their people. The *Gosplan* formulates and supervises all economic activity in the Soviet Union. In agriculture, *kolkhozes* (collective farms) and *solkhozes* (state farms) have eliminated privately owned farms.

6. Only a limited amount of consumer goods is made available to the populace of communist countries. The trend has been to concentrate on heavy industry and military production. Prices for most consumer items are much higher than those in the United States. The Soviet economy is second only to the United States at this time. The United States' economy is not operating at full capacity while the Soviet Unions' economy currently functions at a maximum rate.
7. The Communist Party of the United States is under the control of the Soviet Union.
8. In the communist philosophy, God does not exist. Political and social institutions are developed and changed by the forces of economic production. Matter only is real; faith in God is merely an "opiate for the people."
9. Communism as embraced in the Soviet Union does not permit any opposition or competing forces. The totalitarian state must control every phase of life including art, music, religion, communications, and trade unions, as well as politics and economics.
10. Voting in the Soviet Union is a meaningless show. Only the names of Communist Party candidates appear on the ballot; there is no choice. All Soviet citizens over 18 years of age are required to vote.
11. Rebellion against the communist tyranny is extremely difficult. An "enemy of the regime" is subjected to severe treatment and frequently executed. The general feeling of the Russian on the street is to avoid trouble for himself by complying with all requirements.

THE UNITED STATES

1. The understanding of concepts of *culture* is important to all youth. Culture is preserved and/or changed in many ways.
2. The concept of *man in a culture interacting with societal and natural forces* in light of man's dependence on nature and his control of nature's resources is an essential factor in community life.
3. The concepts of economic organization play key roles in government. These include relation of economic organization of human goals and developing technology; division of labor and corporate production, growth through economic planning, capital saving, and investment.
4. Political organization, the nature of political rights and responsibilities, and means of political control are aspects of our education essential to the development of an enlightened citizenry.
5. The concept of freedom in relationship to personal security and social control is essential in understanding our way of life.
6. The growing interdependence of individuals and groups in our society has an increasing impact in our governmental development.

7. Philosophy, religion, and aesthetics play important roles in our society.
8. Freedom carries responsibility. Each individual must abide by the laws of our society including those of the state, national, and local governments.
9. Our democratic republic developed as a result of demanding experiences and great sacrifices.
10. The strength of America lies in its people.
11. Belief in individual human dignity is basic to our American society.
12. The dignity of work and individual enterprise is respected by American society.
13. American people should understand the free enterprise system—the economics of the market place.
14. American people should recognize, understand, and appreciate the contributions of many people in the past in developing our form of government.
15. The disciplines for the social studies suggested by Samuel P. McCutcheon are basically:
    1. The societal goals of America—patriotism;
    2. The heritage and values of Western civilization—Western culture;
    3. The dimensions and interrelationships of today's world—the contemporary world;
    4. A specific process of rational inquiry and the tenets of good scholarship—rational inquiry.
16. The state as a utilitarian device created to provide for the common defense and to promote the general welfare is a cherished American value.
17. The individual adult citizen has the freedom and responsibility to have a place in government as exemplified in the right and responsibility to vote.
18. American citizens have the freedom of access to knowledge of all kinds achieved through a system of public education, the practice of academic freedom, and the existence of a free press.
19. Freedom is guaranteed to express orally or in writing opinions honestly held concerning economic, religious, political, and social matters.
20. The concept of a "*government of law and not of men*" is provided for in our system of regular courts.
21. The concept of law as a living growth, changing with the evolution of society, permits progress in governmental processes.
22. The idea is widely but not universally held that ethical standards spring from religion.
23. The equality of educational opportunity for all citizens is the just and desirable foundation for a democratic society, and essential to effective self-government.
24. Our society permits the individual person to be a unique center of power and value. The state is an organized community of persons.
25. The family is recognized as a basic social institution.
26. Through public health organization, our citizenry is protected from malpractices endangering physical and mental health.

AN OVERVIEW OF COMMUNISM VERSUS NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

THE COMMUNIST BLOC: POPULATION AND PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Country	Population	Communist Party Members
Albania	1,700,000	50,000
Bulgaria	7,900,000	484,000
Communist China	700,000,000	13,960,000
Cuba	6,800,000	27,000
Czechoslovakia	13,700,000	1,500,000
East Germany	17,215,000	1,473,000
Hungary	10,050,000	438,000
North Korea	9,996,000	1,164,000
North Vietnam	16,200,000	620,000
Outer Mongolia	1,000,000	36,000
Poland	29,731,000	1,024,000
Rumania	18,400,000	720,000
Soviet Union	218,000,000	8,366,000
Yugoslavia	18,655,000	899,000

COMMUNISTS IN IMPORTANT NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

Country	Population	Communist Party Members (latest estimates)
Argentina	20,956,000	75,000
Brazil †	65,743,000	50,000
Canada	17,814,000	3,000
Egypt	25,635,000	1,000
Finland	4,456,000	30,000
France	45,540,000	250,000
Great Britain	52,145,000	26,000
India	402,750,000	230,000
Indoniesia	89,600,000	1,500,000
Italy	49,368,000	1,500,000
Japan	93,419,000	70,000
Mexico	34,626,000	5,000
Pakistan	88.211,000	4,000
Spain	30,128,000	5,000
Sweden	7,480,000	25,000
Turkey †	27,829,000	2,500
United States	179,323,000	10,000
Venezuela	6,607,000	40,000
West Germany †	54,996,000	50,000

† Communist Party illegal.

AN OVERVIEW

Lenin's prophecies after satisfying victories following the Bolshevik take-over were those of an astute revolutionist and a true activist. But his utterances regarding future economic construction and development would not permit Lenin to be classified as a first-rate economist since great advances in production and technological development did not really materialize.

In the last three decades, it is true that there has been a significant shift of the labor force from agricultural to non-agricultural employment, but in 1960 the Soviet Union was roughly in the same position as the United States in 1890. Today the total output of the Soviet Union, appreciably larger in population than the United States, is still about 40% of that of the United States.

Although there have been rather impressive gains in some areas of heavy industrial production, the shortages of clothing and many needed consumer goods are often as bad as food shortages. Since the Soviets (with their "state capitalism know-how") have been struggling for fifty years to equal the United States in economic production, one still must consider their successes rather unimpressive. They have been more successful in the questionable tactics of infiltration, suppression, propaganda, subversion, revolutions, and outright war.

Raw materials and commodities production in the U.S.S.R. obviously have not met expectations since the Soviets are compelled to purchase wheat and food from those they defame. "Free" Soviet families are living in one and two-room houses, while low-rent public housing in the United States provides four times as much living space per person as average living space for *all* income groups in Russia.

The imperialist expansion into Eastern Europe in 1946-1947 was the first major attempt by the Soviet Union to exploit smaller nations. These nations later became satellites under the heel of Russian power. Although promised at Yalta, free elections were never permitted. Later, the same technique of placing Moscow-trained "advisors" and military personnel in small countries was employed in the North Korean take-over. The real patriots of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and elsewhere were no match for the Soviet subversives, who had constantly purged the anti-Russians. It was the United States that stepped in to prevent similar aggression in Turkey and Greece, as well as South Korea.

Russian expansion into eastern Europe was intended as a stepping stone into western Europe. It is here that the introduction of the Marshall Plan of aid from the United States gave birth to a flourishing economy that now has restored the productive power of West Germany and much of western Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has also given the free nations of Europe a cooperative military striking force to impede Soviet imperialistic expansion.

At the same time, Americans have developed a coveted high standard of living and enjoy an affluent economy. Quality housing and consumer goods are enjoyed by the great masses of the American populace. The United States produces for both use and market more crude petroleum, more electricity, more footwear, more crude steel, more radios, more refrigerators, and more television sets—not to mention a variety of foodstuffs—than does the Soviet Union. Is it any wonder that the United States is called the "affluent society?"

Communist territorial acquisition has been markedly retarded in recent years. It was Karl Marx who declared that there would be no national boundaries, that "there will be one communist state throughout the world." Khrushchev made similar statements and insisted that one class would prevail. The communists still witness national boundaries around the world. The early planners made no allowance for nationalist feeling within countries. They cried that nationalism was a bourgeois fraud, but this position has been modified to fit the pattern of revised thinking that there are different stages of evolution requiring national boundaries.

Lenin himself taught that national feeling was bad, but he was a realist and stated that communists do not wish to affront nationalist attitudes.

The United States' aid to other countries has been economic and military in character, but there is no record of aggression or suppression. Instead, attempts have been made to provide programs for industrial, agricultural, and educational betterment. Joint efforts of American businessmen, trade unions, and governmental agencies have afforded new opportunities for foreign workers through free trade unions, better housing programs, and occupational training programs. Despite extensive aid to many countries that desire assistance, the United States lags behind Russia in overseas organization of a political nature.

It has been necessary for the Soviets to accept something other than a classless society. Many of the prominent figures of Soviet society are not party heads. Many engineers, scientists, architects, doctors, and other cultured and professional people live apart from the rest of the people, but they are needed in the massive bureaucracy to furnish the leadership for the technological and productive forces.

The Russian tax system is generally regressive and hits hardest at those with lowest incomes. The turnover tax, a type of sales tax levied on consumer goods, fluctuates wildly, and the tax rate is kept a secret.

The monopolistic structure of Soviet industry has no counterpart in the free world economy. Workers are restricted by government regimentation.

The prison atmosphere of Russia exists throughout the country. Travel is not easy. Transportation shortages exists. Travel abroad to satellite countries is restricted, and trips to non-communist nations are almost impossible to arrange.

The history of Soviet leadership reveals a continuous series of broken treaties. Recently so-called test ban agreements in the testing of nuclear bombs have been violated. The Hungarian Revolt in 1956, which ended in bloody agony under the military might of the Soviet army, created a great revulsion against communism and Khrushchev himself for terrorist activity.

Peaceful coexistence with non-communist nations, as far as Russian leadership is concerned, provides "favorable opportunities for class struggle in capitalist countries", and favorable liberation movements of the colonial and dependent countries. Communists consider coexistence as an opportunity to propagandize and subvert all countries. Peaceful coexistence to the Soviet means "intensification of the struggle." Peaceful coexistence means all forms of war to permit communist imperialism, and the United States is supposed to refrain from any activity of any kind in any communist-dominated area. To classify it correctly one must call coexistence a monstrous facade.

The Marxism-Leninism revolution doctrine in practice cannot withstand a comprehensive analysis:

National boundaries still exist;
The "paper curtain" isolates the Soviet citizen;
The State has not withered away;
The Berlin Wall stands as a monument to communist failures;
Satellites are exploited;
There is a balance-of-power struggle within the bloc;
Factions do exist within the parties;
Russia continues to put the Soviet Union above the world revolution, retaining its first loyalty to the fatherland;
The Soviets still compromise for strategic advantages;
Clashes of economic interests persist and power interests are always present;
The outlook for non-political unionism is not bright;
The classless society is still a dream;
The totalitarian dictatorship has not faded from the scene.

The Sino-Soviet Split: Who will set the monolithic line—the Revisionist in Russia, or the Violent Revolutionist in Red China? Will it be peaceful professional rattling of rockets or Chinese all-out atomic war?

Call it what you will—Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism— the "Khrushchevism" before a gathering of Western diplomats in Moscow on November 18, 1956, keeps ringing in our ears, "Whether you like it or not, history is on our side; we will bury you."

Totalitarianism never ceases to glorify violence and class hatred.

The deviations and alterations forced upon succeeding Soviet rulers by opposing forces of reality create a definite brake or drag on the Soviets. The unpredictable behavior pattern is hardly worth the purchasing.

CONTRASTING SYSTEMS
COMMUNISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY

To determine the difference between democracy and communism, we may begin with some of the basic assumptions, ideals, and goals which underlie these two systems. We will find that the two represent polar extremes in every form of social organization which man devises. It is in the intent of these organizations that the two systems find their greatest difference. To some degree all societies have found it necessary to develop some form of political organization by which the society can be governed; all have devised some form of organization of the economic aspects which operate in the society; all have formulated some kind of social organization, with accompanying values and ideals, by which members can pattern their relationships with one another.

The heart of democracy is the individual—he has value; he has the right to determine in part his own destiny; he has worth and dignity; he is an entity. Beginning with this assumption, democratic societies have shaped organizations which, weathered by time and conditions, have evolved into something which more closely approaches the ideals of those societies. Whereas democracy is an organization developed over time by reasonable men of ideals, communism is an organization derived by idealist reformers through observation, study, and interpretation of history. Democracy, developed in the light of existing conditions by men who assumed the intrinsic value of an individual, became a flexible organization with built-in regard for individual rights and opinions. Communism, derived from the study of history and conditions, became a set of rules and axioms assumed to be unchanging and therefore inflexible and absolute.

To lift out of context is not always valid; however, some statements of individuals committed to these two systems serve to point out very clearly differences in the two systems. Thomas Jefferson in the American Declaration of Independence wrote that governments are instituted among men to secure their liberties, to guarantee their freedom. Karl Marx in his *Communist Manifesto* declared that states (governments) are evil because the class which controls society's economic production establishes the government to maintain its control, and to coerce its enemies (the other classes). Abraham Lincoln stated that government should be "of the people, and for the people." Karl Marx found that to establish Communism it would be necessary first to establish a temporary dictatorship of the proletariat. To date, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has lasted some 50 years.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties in the United States have played an important part in the development and operation of democracy. Following the principle of majority rule, the party that can get the support of the majority of the people is given the privilege of operating the government as long as it has that support. The party that operates the government must, thereby, reflect the wishes of the majority of the people. The communist party, wherever found, represents a

different function. Lenin found the proletariat of Russia, those whom Marx had predicted would establish a dictatorship, unsuited for and generally disinterested in revolutionary activity. Lenin decided that a group suited for and interested in establishing a communist society would lead the way for the proletariat to establish its dictatorship. It would be a vanguard of the proletariat. This group would be the Communist Party—a party of self-appointed social reformers—not one selected by any of the people, not even the proletariat.

Thus we see the political ideals of democracy and communism represent opposite extremes on many basic ideas concerning government. To this point only political differences have been presented. However, the ideals of these two systems pervade all aspects of society; they are part of the economic and social systems which exist within these societies. The ideals are most often in evidence when governments clash. Democracy is primarily concerned with the political aspect of man's life, but the ideals followed in a democratic society are present in all its other aspects. Communism is primarily concerned with the economic aspect of man's life, but the ideals followed in economics are carried over into all other aspects of communist society. Thus, both systems consciously attempt to carry their ideals into all aspects. The primary difference between the two lies in the basic ideals: democracy depends on the individual, and tries to protect his rights and liberties; communism depends on the individual's adherence to an inflexible system devised by social reformers and clamped upon him by dictators.

The purpose of this study guide is to provide a structured aid for developing an understanding of the basic differences between and the values of, democracy and communism. It is designed to highlight the differences in the development and establishment of these two systems, the basic values upon which each is founded, the differences in their respective economic systems and the accomplishments of these systems, the animosity that has risen between democracy and communism and the clash that has followed this animosity.

Any study guide must be approached with certain reservations and considerations. It should not be assumed that this guide intends to present democracy as a perfect social system; it is not. Democracy suffers from all the ills that characterize any system operated by man: dishonesty, graft, corruption, special interest above general interest, inequity, inequality among citizens; *but it also contains the power of the majority to discover these shortcomings and to eliminate them.* All social organizations can suffer from the mistakes and shortcomings of man, but not all have the means by which these can be corrected. Democracy does not offer perfection, but the ideals of democracy do allow man to attempt it. Communism also reflects the character of man with all of his shortcomings, but it does not offer the people a means of correcting these shortcomings. The objective of this guide is not to contrast a perfect system against an imperfect one, but rather to contrast a successful system against an unsuccessful one in terms of meeting the needs and desires of the great mass of people.

SUGGESTED BASIC OUTLINE

Contrast of Democracy and Communism

Political—the differences between democracy and communism related to their development, the nature of the political systems and the controlling group in each. A fuller treatment of the development of communism is found in Section II.

1. American political democracy
   a. Ancient roots
   b. Our English heritage
      1) Magna Carta
      2) Petition of Rights
      3) Bill of Rights
   c. Our colonial heritage
      1) Representative government in Virginia
      2) Mayflower Compact
      3) Fundamental Orders
   d. The influence of the frontier
   e. The creation of a new nation and its principles—The Declaration of Independence
   f. A government of laws rather than men—the American Constitution
      1) A guide for the development of democracy
      2) Division of powers
      3) Separation of powers
      4) Protection for the individual—the Bill of Rights
   g. The role of political parties in the United States
2. Russian totalitarianism
   a. A tradition of centralism and autocracy
   b. A tradition of revolutions to break the totalitarian government
   c. The first conquest by communism
   d. A government of men rather than laws—the dictatorship of the Communist Party
      1) The surface structure of the government
      2) Real power in the Communist Party
      3) The employment of the military forces and the state police

Economic

1. The free enterprise system in America—capitalism and democracy
   a. The role of the consumer in the system—the force of demand
   b. Private ownership of land, resources, and industry—the force of supply
   c. The profit motive
   d. The status of labor
      1) Free association and organization
      2) Share in the free enterprise system
   e. The status of agriculture

f. The role of the government—encouragement, aid, restrictions, and regulations

2. State socialism—state ownership and control of the resources of a nation
   a. The ownership of property
      1) State property
      2) The cooperatives—farms and small industries under state control
      3) Private property—personal belongings
   b. The planned economy—the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) control of aspects and areas of the nations economy
      1) Five year periods, five year plans
      2) De-centralization and re-centralization under Khrushchev
   c. The status of labor
   d. The status of industry
   e. The status of agriculture
   f. The status of the consumer

Social and Cultural

1. The democratic society and culture
   a. The freedom of choice and of thought
      1) Academic freedom
      2) Freedom of speech and press
   b. The role of education in the free society
   c. The position of religion in the free society
   d. The role of science in the free society
   e. The free society and humanitarian thought
   f. Culture in the free society
      1) Popular arts
      2) Fine arts
2. The totalitarian society and culture
   a. The "social command" and "social realism". The fitting of individuals and thought into the monolith. Development under Lenin and Stalin.
      1) Thought and creativity must conform to the party line
      2) Absolute control of all media of communication
   b. The position of religion
   c. The role of science
   d. The role of education

Historical Development of Communism

Industrial Revolution and its effects

1. Early capitalism
2. Dislocation of the social system and resulting problems
   a. Growth of cities

b. Development of new and widely separated classes
c. Social and political injustices

Growing demands for social reforms

1. Early social reformers
   a. Babeuf
   b. Saint Simon
   c. Fourier
   d. Owen
   e. Sismondi
   f. Proudhom
   g. Blanc
   h. Blanqui

Karl Marx—the fountainhead of the social reformers

1. His theories
2. The *Communist Manifesto*

Development of capitalism in the West

1. Political democracy—broader political rights give strength to middle class and working class
2. Economic democracy—political strength brings economic reforms

Russia—communism comes to a backward nation

1. The development of the Russian autocratic government
2. Russian society—the class system
3. Economic backwardness and the attempts to catch up with the West
4. Introduction of communist ideology
   a. Plekhanov, Georgi V (1857-1918) first brings the ideology to Russia
   b. Lenin and revolutionary communism
   c. Why communism found fertile ground in Russia

World War I—the clash of industrial powers

1. Stress on the warring nations—social, political and economic
2. Russian Revolution
   a. Failure of the Czarist government to meet the stress of modern war. The Czar abdicates.
   b. Failure of the provisional government
   c. Communists capture the revolution

Russia—the establishment of a communist government

1. War Communism—the communists became the absolute rulers of Russia
2. Implementation of a communist government in the face of conflicting interpretations of Marx
   a. Lenin
   b. Trotsky
   c. Stalin

3. Economic Plans—successes and failures
   a. New Economic Policy revives Russian industry and agriculture (1922-1928)
   b. The Five-Year Plan—an attempt to implement fully Marxian economic theory

AN APPROACH TO THE TEACHING OF TOTALITARIANISM

During the nineteenth century, republicanism, liberalism, and democracy enjoyed increased favor. The change in governmental approaches caused European monarchs to alter their systems more in line with popular democratic ideas. It appeared that democracy was a sign of the times and that it was to emerge in full flower in the future.

The advocates of democracy have reason for concern even yet as truly successful democracies are still rare. There have been obstructions; most significant of these political systems that arose during the twentieth century was totalitarianism.

This political phenomenon manifested itself in the rise of totalitarian states during the twentieth century to the extent that it deserves attention in the social studies curriculum.

Totalitarianism as a concept can be treated generally in the same way as imperialism, socialism, and nationalism. The advantage of understanding a concept helps the student to arrange, organize, and make sense of the subject matter he reads or hears from different sources.

Too often the philosophy of totalitarianism is not examined in its application as a governmental system. What are the characteristics of a totalitarian state and how do they differ with those of an authoritarian or a democratic state?

It is recognized that the United States has allied itself with various types of countries, some with totalitarian governments. It is natural that we pay attention to our enemies—those countries with conflicting ideologies, but our study should be more than "know your enemy." It is important that we look beyond the military threat of communism or any other "ism." The danger lies in the attack upon less obvious ideas and methods in our democratic approach to government.

There are those who prefer to concentrate on the concept of totalitarianism. Communism is a serious threat to our democratic republican form of government, but there are many kinds of totalitarian groups that can be equally as damaging as communism. To sustain this assertation, one needs only to mention Nazism or Fascism.

It is desirable to use the study of totalitarianism as a method of understanding the nature of many "isms." *The Study of Totalitarianism, An Inductive Approach, Bulletin No. 37*, Washington, D. C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1965, by Howard D. Mehlinger, provides a guide for teaching inductively concepts and generalizations.

This study is replete with many particular cases and proven facts, not a study in the abstract or based on supposed or false theories. The guide was originally conceived as a supplement to the booklet by William Ebenstein, *Totalitarianism: New Perspectives* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1962) but can be adapted successfully to other adopted textbooks.

Mehlinger's study provides the teacher with activities, readings, and a few visual aids. Questions are designed to help the student to arrive at generalizations of his own. Student discovery is a part of the approach used. Although a student does not have access to all the information about a topic, the advantage of involvement in the examination and expression of ideas is apparent.

The aspects of totalitarianism are clearly present in nine basic generalizations, with excellent step-by-step procedures, suggestions, and activities presented after each along with simple lesson plan directions.

This approach to studying totalitarianism may be used successfully as a short-term unit of a few weeks or as a core for teaching a full semester or longer.

The following nine generalizations are taken from Mr. Mehlinger's study guide for teachers:

1. The nature of the political system which will evolve in any nation depends in part upon the values held by its citizens.
2. All societies cope with the problem of individual freedom versus public control. No contemporary society can be judged to be either completely free or completely totalitarian. Nevertheless, nations differ markedly and significantly in their attitudes toward and treatment of the relationship between freedom and control; these differences form identifiable but rather loosely defined and fluctuating patterns.
3. Totalitarian regimes depend upon a command mechanism to run their economic systems.
4. Totalitarian states are characterized by single party political systems. Party membership is limited to those who are willing to be unquestionably loyal to the party leaders. Party interest and control encompass all aspects of the society.
5. Totalitarian systems tend to fall to the control of single leaders. These leaders are then considered almost superhuman.
6. Totalitarian regimes are characterized by a commitment to a specific ideology. The ideology serves the state by defining the past, explaining the present, and predicting the future. It establishes guidelines for remolding society in the image held by the rulers. To the degree that the ideology is accepted by the mass of population, it can inspire dedication and loyalty to the regime.
7. A totalitarian state seeks to subordinate all social institutions to the control of the state and thereby removes all possible challengers to its control. No human activity is without interest to totalitarian rulers. To control the behavior of its citizens, totalitarian regimes recognize no limits to the means which may be employed to achieve their ends.

8. The type of totalitarianism which develops in a country is conditioned primarily by that nation's unique historical experience. The nature of the ideology, the level of economic development, and the degree of democratic experience are significant factors in explaining the origins and development of any totalitarian state.
9. Totalitarianism is a political, social, and economic system which uses any means available to subject the individual to the goals and leadership of the state.

WHAT IS MARXISM?

Why is the Study Important?

There are few subjects which demand as much attention from those who would preserve free institutions in the modern world as Marxism. No philosophy has ever before in history brought so many people within the framework of its institutionalized system in so short a time as Marxist communism. Since the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, communism has moved with a seemingly relentless force to bring under its ideological system more than one-third of the earth's population. Yet the communists with headquarters in Moscow and Peking claim that this is only the beginning of the end of society as we know it. They also claim to be the logical and lineal descendants of and interpreters of Karl Marx. But their systems of bureaucratic despotism of state power is a far cry from the ideal system which Marx envisioned.

It is important, therefore, that we know just exactly what Marx taught and believed, which aspects of his theories have been embodied in the communist states of today, and where those leaders who claim to be the "true Marxists" have abandoned some of the basic teachings of the prophet of economic determinism and communist society. No one can cope with the fanatical and dedicated communists of today—as our democratic society must do in this closely-knit world—without a basic understanding of what Marxism is and is not.

Who was Karl Marx? What did He Believe?

Born of Jewish parents in Treves, Germany in 1818, Karl Marx rejected the Jewish faith and became anti-Semitic at an early age. A sensitive and intense intellectual who received his doctorate in the field of philosophy at the University of Jena in 1841, Marx was subject to many of the intellectual currents which were sweeping Europe in the first part of the post-Napoleonic period. These included particularly some of the ideas of the English economists and those who were beginning to place faith in the scientism of the times. When he failed to obtain a teaching position he had sought, he turned his talents to journalism.

In Paris in 1844, he met Friedrich Engels, the son of a wealthy textile manufacturer, who was to become his intellectual and spiritual partner as well as his benefactor. The two young men joined the Communist League in Brussels where he and Engels wrote the famous *Communist Manifesto*, which was first published in 1848. Despite many changes and reinterpretations over the years, the document has remained the basic credo for communists around the world.

The changes have not been in the original wording, of course, but in the meanings attributed to the words and in the context within which the concepts have been interpreted.

Eventually Karl Marx settled in England, where the freedom of inquiry and speech allowed by British democracy permitted him to continue research on his theories and to continue his agitation for a world communist victory. Working in the British Museum and supported much of the time by his friend, Engels, Marx wrote many volumes dealing with economics and the class struggle. The most famous of his works is *Das Kapital* (*Capital*). The founder and prophet of world communism died in 1883.

It is noteworthy that Marx held out little hope for the early victory of communism in such countries as Russia or China. In fact, he wrote of the Russian menace to Europe and was worried about the bureaucratic despotism traditional in China and India which did not fit into his neat scheme of history. Marx's references to "the Asiatic mode of production," as well as his disparaging comments about Russia, have been edited out of his collected works whenever published by a communist state. One will search in vain for some of these discussions in the works of Marx as published by the International Publishers in Moscow.

Marx sat on top of the bourgeois society of Europe in the early and worst stages of the industrial revolution. These were indeed times of agony and exploitation for the workers in Europe which was beginning to experience the full impact of modern science and technology without some of the social benefits which were to come later. Marx, as well as many other reformers and idealists, were appalled by the child labor and misery in the factories of mid-nineteenth century Europe. Marx himself, moved perhaps in part by his traumatic abandonment of his own religion, sought with intensity a basis for condemning the society of which he was a part. His work constituted a synthesis of many current ideas. What started out to be an analysis of society and its history in his mind ended up by 1848, the year of the *Communist Manifesto*, as a prescription which his successors and interpreters attempted to impose upon humanity. Those who sought originally to reform society ended up imposing more misery and suffering upon humanity than did the system they condemned so vigorously. The richness of the wrath and the rigidity of the oversimplified analyses of Marx have continued to this day.

Marx's contributions to the interpretation of history and society were revolutionary. He called attention to the role of economic factors in history in a manner which was to influence all later historians, whether they accepted his ideas or not. Marx was also so unscientific and imprecise that many of his ideas were open to wide latitude of interpretation. Thus many people in later generations with diametrically opposed points of view could claim to be Marxists. His writings were incomplete, frequently contradictory—and like those of any prophet—open to wide interpretation. But Marx had such a great influence on the course of the history of the world that his basic ideas *must* be understood.

What are the Key Doctrines?

Marx's philosophy must be viewed first as an interpretation of history. He viewed all human history from the perspective of the developments in Europe and attempted to draw generalizations about human development on the basis of what he was witnessing there. The result was that much was determined for Marx by the class view of society into which he found himself born and which he pledged to resist from an early age. The following are the key items of Marx's view of history which deserve elaboration:

Unilinear Progression. Marx, and especially his later Soviet interpreters, viewed the history of humanity as progressing through certain inexorable stages —from primitive tribal society to slave society to feudal society to bourgeois (or capitalist) society to an inevitable communist society.

Dialectic Materialism. Marx saw development as the inevitable result of the changes in the mode of production. Marx argued that all society was determined by the means of production and exchange and that production and property determines all culture. *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* defines "dialectic" as "Disputation or debate conducted in conformity with the laws of logic" or as "logical argument from a chain of circumstances." "Materialism" is defined as "any theory which considers the facts of the universe to be sufficiently explained by the existence and nature of matter."

Borrowing from the German philosopher Hegel a line of reasoning that insisted that every force (*thesis*) generates a counter-force (*antithesis*) which results in a new force by compromise (*synthesis*) which in turn becomes a new *thesis*, Marx argued that human history went through such a dialectical process as a result (or in part because) of changes in the patterns of material production. He pointed out that changes in the mode of economic production brought about new classes which then oppressed other classes who resisted (*antithesis*). This led through class conflict to a new ruling class which in turn became a new force (*thesis*).

Thus, Marx maintained in the *Manifesto* that the "history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle." His argument went somewhat as follows: (1) revolutions in production and exchange always produce a new ruling class; (2) ruling classes always oppress other classes; (3) oppressed classes always fight the rulers; (4) therefore, there is always a class struggle. This struggle would continue, Marx asserted, until all of the people (the *proletariat* or workers) ruled themselves in that stage of final synthesis when political power and the state would disappear.

Indictment of Bourgeois Capitalism. Marx asserted that the present and next-to-the-final form of oppression was brought about by capital. He argued that all capital was nothing more than the result of labor. The proletariat produces capital and the bourgeois utilizes it through the wage system to oppress the poor laborers. Thus there is a class war between the capitalists and the laborers. He argued that religion, art, thought, social institutions, etc., were determined by the bourgeois stage through which humanity was passing and that

it was necessary to hasten this stage in order that all oppression should cease under the workers' rule in the final synthesis.

Communist Revolution. Marx insisted, therefore, that in the last and most forceful battle of opposites, there would be a worldwide struggle between the international proletarians and the bourgeois in which all the feudal remnants (religion) and bourgeois characteristics in society (art, literature, love, and other values) must be destroyed.

According to the prophet of communism, the bourgeois would lose because they had forged the weapons of their own destruction such as depressions; they had created men to wield the weapons—namely, the proletarians. He argued that, because of the wage system of "cash nexus" of capitalist self-interest, all sentiment and ties of love and religion could be abandoned. Therefore, he predicted that the religion of communism would succeed in the course of a revolution which was more intense than any other in all preceding history. Marx stated that the class war in this final great struggle would pass through four phases: (1) individual and local acts of resistance by proletarians, such as the smashing of machinery, sabotage, etc.; (2) trade unions banding together to demand better hours and working conditions during the course of which (particularly if under the leadership of the communists) the proletarians would gain some education in where their true class interest lay; (3) the proletarians organizing as a class and an international political party ready to do battle with the capitalists with revolutionary violence; (4) finally, part of the bourgeoisie being persuaded to join the great proletarian cause and give it the final impetus for a world victory.

Marx insisted that the victory for world communism would be both national and international, that classless society would come into existence, and that class war would cease, that there would no longer be political power since political power was dependent upon economic oppression.

It is difficult to summarize all that was contained in the impassioned *Manifesto* or the dull pages of *Das Kapital,* but there can be no question that the doctrines of Marx were a heady wine, and the world has suffered quite a hangover since imbibing. The doctrines of Marx have had appeal from the beginning for the following reasons among others:

1. He gave the working class in Europe a doctrine;
2. The claim to be "scientific" gave socialism respectability in an age when science had respect;
3. It flattered the intellect because it offered understanding of complex problems within the framework of simple answers;
4. It glorified class war;
5. It had a semi-religious appeal in an age of skepticism and doubt.

What are its Fallacies?

Although communists still accept much of what is contained in Marx, the basic tenets have not squared with reality.

1. The doctrine of class struggle has proved inconsistent with facts. The "class" has not proved the transcendent pattern of loyalty.

2. Marx ignored psychological differences in people, and although the Soviets have tried with Pavlovian psychology to prove that the true communist man can be created, they have failed miserably.
3. Marx's labor theory of value has now been completely discredited even by Soviet economists when they have been forced to adopt capitalist incentives.
4. Marx assumed that all countries and societies would become industrialized under a capitalist system. Were he alive today, his worries about Russia would be realized in the bureaucratic state monopoly there.
5. Marx's theory of economic determinism does not even account for economic phenomena.
6. His discussion of the cash nexus assumes that economic relations will take precedence.
7. He ignored the fact that a "communist" state such as the U.S.S.R. can become even more selfish and nationalistic than a state with divided and separated powers.

These are just a few of the criticisms which have been brought against the basis doctrines of Karl Marx. There are many others. But, frequently facts are no match for a stubborn and irrational theory.

What are the Differences Between Communists and Socialists?

There is little question of Marx's later influence. Some of his doctrines and ideas are to be found in many political movements and parties today. One of the important points to derive from a session in discussing Marxism with students is to clarify some of the differences between the Communists of the Soviet variety and "democratic socialists" such as Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin.

Communists reject religion and God; many democratic socialists are devout believers in God.

Communists insist on revolutionary violence; democratic socialists reject violence.

Communists insist on the class struggle interpretation of history; democratic and many other socialists have abandoned this.

Communists give allegiance to the ritual center of world communism; most socialists reject both Moscow and Peking, though some unwittingly still maintain illusions about the Soviet dictatorship.

Communists insist on the abandonment of all private property; many socialists reject this idea.

Communists still insist in the labor theory of value; socialists do not.

World Communist Leaders

RECOMMENDATIONS: It is suggested that a study be made of the following communist leaders:

Nicholai Lenin (Vladimir Llyich Ulyanov)
Joseph Stalin (Joseph Djugashvili)
Nikita Khrushchev
Mao Tse-Tung
Leonid Brezhnev
Alexi Kosygin

Communist Expansion Predicted

A concentrated step-up of communist bids for political power has occurred in far-flung areas of the world. Communist influence is now a real force in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. The work of the United Nations has been hampered by numerous Soviet vetoes. In Cuba, communism has become a reality. Greater future expansion was predicted by Nikita Khrushchev in 1957 when he spoke to an American television audience: "I can prophesy that your grandchildren in America will live under socialism. And please do not be afraid of that. Your grandchildren . . . will not . . . understand how their grandparents did not understand the progressive nature of a socialist society."

COMMUNIST CHINA'S EARLY DEVELOPMENT

Today there is more than one type of communist system. That in Communist China is more primitive and more extreme than developed communism in the U.S.S.R. Of the two main communist centers, China is by far the most militant and aggressive and thus constitutes the most immediate threat to world peace. China is also trying to lead the entire underdeveloped world down the road to its own militant style of communism. A clear understanding of the Chinese communist system will thus be increasingly important in the next phase of the Cold War.

The Chinese People's Republic Emerges

The establishment of the Chinese People's Republic was the result of 28 years of struggle for power by the communists. This struggle was waged against the Nationalist Government internally and the Japanese externally. In 1931, Mao Tse-Tung established a local soviet government in a rural part of southern China after a city revolt proposed by Moscow failed. From this point on, the Chinese communists developed their own tactics and had their own base of power separate from the world organization controlled by the Russians. In 1934, Chiang Kai-shek's armies forced the communists to flee to the north, where they set up a new base of operations. During the war between China and Japan that began in 1937, the communists in the north successfully managed to identify their movement with the nationalism that swept the country. They also won peasant support on land reform and organized a peasant army skilled in guerrilla tactics. This strategy enabled the communists to win a victory in 1949, thus making Peking the second major base of world communism.

Total Control and Discipline

The communists established total political control, centralized in the party, over every person and every group in China. All social organizations were put under party discipline, and numerous purges removed from public life all those who opposed subordination to the communists. A monopoly of communications made sure only communistic ideas could be disseminated, and the enrollment of every Chinese in local Marxist study groups completed the system of regimentation and indoctrination. In rural areas, this political control system was estab-

lished by ruthless means. In the process of "land reform," landlords and peasants opposed to the communists were eliminated, frequently by execution. In 1955 peasants were forced into regimented collective farms, and in 1958 these were turned into communes where farmers lived and ate in communal barracks and worked in labor brigades. Thus their every waking moment was under party direction. In the cities, "three-anti" and "five-anti" campaigns eliminated many opponents. More disgruntled elements were flushed out in the "Hundred Flowers" campaign of 1957, when a temporary relaxation of control tricked many intellectuals into revealing their opposition. The tight control system which has resulted from all these measures makes any revolt against the communists almost impossible to organize.

Economic Development

The communists put great stress on economic development through industrialization. During the civil war, Chinese agriculture had been disrupted, production had dropped, and transportation facilities had been destroyed. The communists first had to promote economic recovery. Then in 1953 they began their first five-year plan to rush industrialization. This effort was greatly aided by Soviet technicians and Soviet economic credits which totaled two billion dollars by 1955. Encouraged by initial progress, Mao in 1958 attempted the "Great Leap Forward," that is, he sought to accelerate industrialization by taking shortcuts. Creation of the communes was to enable the regime to squeeze more resources out of the peasant, and back-yard iron smelters were to create a metals industry with a minimum of investment. The "Great Leap" failed, and by 1960 the economy was in a crisis which became aggravated when the Soviets in disgust withdrew their technicians and cut their aid.

Drive for Leadership

At present the Chinese communists seem overcommitted to goals beyond their present capabilities. The economic collapse of 1959-60 highlights this fact. The rapid swelling of China's huge population would strain any development program. A small supply of mineral resources complicates the problem. The Chinese drive for leadership of the communist bloc has resulted in the loss of Soviet aid at the same time that an expansionist foreign policy has increased China's foreign commitments. With domestic resources weak and foreign aid lost, China's drive to become a world power and to lead all the underdeveloped countries has become a most ambitious goal.

COMMUNISM IN ACTION SINCE 1945

Through the study of communism in action since 1945, students should obtain a better understanding of the nature of the communist threat as the Soviets and Chinese work to advance their goal of world domination.

The outline provided here is intended as a guide and is by no means complete. It is expected that teachers will supplement the outline, add additional topics, omit certain sections altogether, or rearrange the order of topics to be taught. Factors to be considered in presenting this part of the course might include the class time available, student interest, recent events, etc.

Teachers are urged to use outside speakers, filmstrips, and films, to encourage the use of newspapers and periodicals, to make frequent reference to maps, to call upon other faculty members for assistance, to enlist the co-operation of the librarian in assembling materials for student use in preparing reports and making bulletin board displays.

Wherever possible, teachers should emphasize the ideological differences between the communist system and western Christian democracy. The study of communism in action provides an opportunity to contrast the godless, state-controlled communist system with our own government in which the rights of the individual are protected and private initiative is encouraged and rewarded. Students should also understand that the United States is by far the most important factor in the defense of Christian democracy against the world-wide communist conspiracy.

POINTS OF CONFLICT IN THE WORLDWIDE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM SINCE 1945

Totalitarianism Leads to World War II

The Development of Right-Wing Totalitarianism in Italy

1. Mussolini seizes power (1922)
2. Fascist dictatorship established
3. Unprovoked aggression against Ethiopia (1935)
4. Italy joins Germany in Rome-Berlin Axis (1936)

Nazism in Germany

1. Hitler heads National Socialist German Workers' party (Nazi); establishes dictatorship: the Third Reich
2. Hitler denounces Versailles Treaty; blames Germany's problems on Jews and Communists
3. Techniques used: Gestapo; propaganda; "master race" thesis; persecution of Jews and opposition elements; "fifth columnists," etc.
4. Aggression against Austria and Czechoslovakia
5. Germany and Soviet Union sign non-aggression pact
6. Invasion of Poland (Sept. 1939); its partition; World War II begins.

Student activities:

Locate on large map all countries mentioned. Find out why the Versailles Treaty was denounced by Hitler. Some students may be interested enough to read or re-read chapters on World War II in the American history text.

Suggestions to the teacher:

Part I suggests a few background developments leading to the outbreak of war. Deserving attention are the ruthlessness of totalitarianism; the destruction of the liberty of the individual; the ineffectiveness of the League; the ineptitude of France and Great Britain. Lack of time will probably preclude reference to Japan's role in the Manchurian Crisis of 1931 and her war on China. Describe United States' indignant reaction to Nazi aggression.

Difficulties with the Soviets in Achieving Victory

1. Soviet distrust of Britain and the United States

2. Differences regarding the Second Front
3. Extent of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviets
4. Conferences: Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam
5. Soviets allowed to occupy Berlin and East Germany; war ends in Europe
6. Soviet Union enters war against Japan; atomic blasts end war in Pacific

Student activities:

Locate conference sites. Why was aid to the Soviet Union so important to the allied cause? Demonstrate on the map the difficulties of getting aid to the U.S.S.R.

Suggestions to the teacher:

Part II illustrates the difficulty experienced in dealing with communists even as allies. Stress the importance of United States aid to the U.S.S.R. Explain why it seemed necessary to have the Soviet Union enter the war against Japan and why it appeared necessary to use atomic bombs (to avoid loss of American lives).

The Cold War (1945-1949)

1. Soviets move against weaker neighbors to set up communist satellite states: the iron curtain
2. Tension mounts as United States adopts Truman Doctrine to block Soviet aggression in Greece and Turkey
3. Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program) enables Western Europe to recover from the war and to resist communist expansion
4. Soviet attempt to blockade Berlin in order to force withdrawal of Western powers fails because of Berlin "airlift" (1948)
5. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) set up (1949) to "contain" Soviet expansion

Student activities:

Locate on map the satellite countries. Show the division of Germany. Explain why the Soviets would want to make satellite nations out of Greece and Turkey.

Suggestions to the teacher:

Soviet actions listed above were tests of United States foreign policy and of the American will to guard the fruits of victory. Stress the fact that the challenge was met and communist expansion deeper into Europe was halted. Mention the importance of the "airlift" to American prestige and to western European morale. No nation in history remotely matches America in its generosity to aid those crippled by war.

The United States and the Korean Conflict (1950-53)

1. Communist North Korea invades South Korea across 38th parallel (June 1950)
2. United Nations Security Council denounces aggression and calls on members to assist South Korea
3. President Truman orders United States forces into Korea

4. United States forces invade North Korea; Chinese communist "volunteers" swarm across the Yalu River
5. Decision not to attack China results in stalemate and armistice talks at Panmunjon
6. Armistice (July 1953) results in prisoner exchange and recognition of the division of Korea into two countries

Student activities:

Describe on the map the military problem faced by United Nations forces. Read at least one article relating to the Korean Conflict (refer to magazine files).

Suggestions to the teacher:

Describe communist techniques of infiltration, propaganda, and intimidation of the South Koreans. Stress the dominant role played by United States forces throughout the conflict. Tell of communist activities among prisoners of war in both the Chinese and American prisoner-of-war camps.

Communist China Upsets Balance of Power in the Far East

1. After World War II, Chinese Nationalists (backed by the United States) and Chinese Communists (backed by the Soviet Union) struggle for control of China
2. Truman administration withdraws military support following the Marshall report
3. Nationalist government forced to retreat to Taiwan (1949)
4. Nationalists continue to represent China in United Nations; United States continues to support Chiang
5. Chinese communists support the Communist Vietminh against the French in Indo-China
6. French and Vietnamese forces defeated at Dienbienphu (May, 1954)
7. Geneva Conference recognizes the communist State of Vietminh (now North Vietnam) and divides the rest of the country into three non-Communist states: Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam
8. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) set up (September, 1954) to protect Southeast Asia against further aggression

Student activities:

Locate on the map the nations of Southeast Asia. What are the reasons for United States interest in the Far East? (Trade, Open Door Policy, the Philippine Islands, halt communist expansion.) Report on Chiang Kai-shek, Taiwan, Mao. What nations are members of SEATO?

Suggestions to the teacher:

Corruption in Chiang's government and lack of popular support were important factors in United States withdrawal of aid to Nationalists in China. United States opposition to Communist China being in the United Nations was based on China's intervention in Korea and aggressive attitude toward neighbors. Make clear to students that Soviet and Chinese support for communist activity in South Vietnam is in violation of the Geneva Agreement.

Communist Activities in Troubled Africa

1. The Republic of the Congo: Communists supply arms to forces in revolt against the government
2. United Arab Republic (Egypt): Soviet arms and economic aid welcomed; Egypt facilitates shipment of arms by communists to Congo rebels
3. Guinea: Much technical and material aid received from the Soviets
4. Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar): technical and economic aid received from the Soviet Union, China, East Germany, and Cuba
5. Algeria (1954-1962): rebels fighting the French received arms from both the Soviets and Chinese
6. Thousands of African students being trained in Soviet Russia

Student activities:

Make a list of the new African nations; locate them on a wall map. Report topics: "The Congo under Belgian Rule" or "The Strategic Location of Egypt." Why are Soviet and Chinese communists so active in Africa? Why has the United States also extended aid to the new nations? Why are the new nations so critical of the former colonial powers?

Suggestions to the teacher:

The general situation in Africa is fluid and confusing and will remain so for some time. The vastness of Africa—three times the area of the United States—and the variety of its geography and peoples are additional complexities for teacher and students. Of importance is the competition between the Soviets and Chinese. The "conflict" here also has a bearing on the future of the United Nations.

The Communist Threat in Latin America

Cuba—A Communist Base:

1. Castro gains power through revolution (1959)
2. Techniques: seizure of property, indiscriminate arrests, torture, and executions throughout Cuba. Result: thousands flee the island
3. Soviet Union extends credit, supplies arms, sends technicians
4. Castro proclaims Cuba a socialist state; United States severs relations
5. Exiles in the United States attempt invasion at Bay of Pigs (1961); failure blamed on lack of support by the United States
6. Soviet missile crisis (1962) leads to naval quarantine and withdrawal of weapons; Castro refuses to allow on-site inspection
7. Cuba attempts to "export" revolution to Latin America, but has limited success.

Communist Attempts to Foment Unrest in Other Latin American Lands:

1. Brazil: widespread communist infiltration and corruption in government (1963); alerted middle class defeats leftists in 1964 election
2. Chile: strong communist bid for power defeated at the polls (1964)
3. British Guiana: aggressive communist movement hopes to make it a beachhead for communism on the continent

4. Venezuela: Castro-trained communists use terror to promote confusion in hopes of taking over the country and government
5. Bolivia: communists very active, particularly among miners
6. Colombia: much communist agitation among students and labor unions
7. Guatamala: Castro-trained agitators seek to stir up opposition to government

Student activities:

Topics for reports: Cuba before Castro; Strategic Location of Cuba; Cuban Refugees in the United States; Guantanamo; Brazil—Its People and Resources; Recent Developments in Brazil, Chile, or Venezuela.

Suggestions to the teacher:

The "Missile Crisis" is one of the most dramatic incidents in recent times. Apparently intended as a test of American purpose, the "threat" quickly resulted in a communist "retreat"—and a major success for the United States. Soviet and Chinese aid for Cuba continues, however, and a watchful eye is being kept on the island. Communism will continue to be a threat in Latin America until conditions of widespread poverty and illiteracy are alleviated. So far there is little to show that the Alliance for Progress has accomplished much.

United States Reaction to Communism at Home

1. In 1945 the Communist Party USA reached the peak of its power and influence; it claimed 85,000 registered members
2. During the war-time alliance, communists had infiltrated government, unions, and schools
3. Replacement of Earl Browder as party leader by William A. Foster signals end of period of cooperation (1945)
4. Party's dedication to Soviet policies soon indicated by numerous cases of espionage: Gerhart Eisler, Alger Hiss, Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, Colonel Abel (exchanged for United States pilot, Francis Gary Powers)
5. Under Smith Act, 11 communist leaders convicted of advocating violent overthrow of the United States government (1949)
6. Internal Security Act (McCarran Act) requires that communists register with the Attorney-General (1950); the party refused to register
7. Communist Party outlawed by an act signed by President Eisenhower (1954)
8. Gus Hall becomes party secretary (1959); continues unquestioning support of all Soviet policies and actions
9. Disillusionment greatly reduces party membership (down to about 10,000 in 1962)
10. To win recruits among college youth, party established "lecture bureau" in order to speak before student groups all over the country
11. Aims of party today: to support policies of the Soviet Union; to establish socialism in the United States; to weaken the United States militarily for possible war with the Soviet Union; to promote unrest by supporting all controversial issues

Student activities:

Investigate one of the cases of espionage. Report on recent communist activity in this country. What is the danger in allowing communists to address college students?

Suggestions to the teacher:

A group of students might be encouraged to make a case study of one of the espionage incidents. Interest might be aroused by a discussion or debate relating to a communist speaking on a college campus.

United States Reaction to Communism Abroad

1. Threats of Soviet aggression against Turkey and Iran result in the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan; policy of containment adopted
2. Public support for airlift at time of Berlin Blockade almost unanimous (1948)
3. Continued Soviet pressure results in NATO (military alliance)
4. United States supports United Nations in Korean War (1950-53); war ends in stalemate after China enters conflict.
5. To protect Southeast Asia from further communist aggression, SEATO formed
6. United States condemns Soviet aggression in Hungary (1956)
7. Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) offers economic and military aid to any Middle East nation threatened by communists (troops sent to Lebanon in 1958)
8. Khrushchev visits United States (1959) then uses U-2 incident to wreck proposed summit conference and to block good-will visit of Eisenhower to Soviet Union
9. United States gives only feeble support to the Bay of Pigs Invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles (1961) but missiles in Cuba withdrawn by Soviets on United States' demand (1962)
10. Aid increased to South Vietnam and support given to United Nations policy in the Congo
11. President urges policies of preparedness to check military might of the Soviet Union, of negotiation where possible to lessen chances of major crises, and of aid to undeveloped nations
12. Johnson administration continues policy of defending Europe and of supporting nations elsewhere (South Vietnam, Korea) against communist aggression
13. United States steps up war in South Vietnam by bombing North Vietnam as Soviet Union demands United States withdrawal from Vietnam as well as from South Korea (1965)
14. President Johnson offers to negotiate without reservations on Vietnam and promises massive United States aid following settlement
15. Red China rejects offer; air action continues over North Vietnam and additional United States troops reach South Vietnam

Student activities:

History and geography make Turkey a good ally against the Soviet Union. Why? What seems to be the French position regarding NATO? What can you say in favor of Soviet leaders visiting the United States? How do you explain the presence of United States forces in South Vietnam?

Suggestions to the teacher:

It should be obvious that in our relations with the communist nations, we have moved steadily from crisis to crisis over a period of 20 years. While accusing the West of aggression, Soviets and Chinese support all revolutionary movements that promise to advance their goal of world communism. The United States was tested in Cuba, where the result was not satisfactory to either side. We are now undergoing a more crucial test in South Vietnam. At stake is all of Southeast Asia—and United States prestige throughout the world. Students should realize this.

THE PROCLAIMED STRATEGY OF COMMUNIST CHINA

In September 1965, Communist China, through an article by Marshal Lin Piao, proclaimed its strategy for world conquest, a strategy based on fomenting terror, chaos, and revolution throughout the globe. Recently, some scholars have taken a second look at that document and have produced different interpretations of its meaning. There are those who say it means what it says and others who find hidden meanings in it.

What is Mao's strategy?

Marshal Lin has said that by promoting and supporting revolution in what he calls the rural areas of the world, namely Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the communists will first encircle and then conquer the "city areas" of the world—which he identifies specifically as Western Europe and North America.

Mao's intentions and his methods, as expressed in Marshal Lin's article, are very clear. Some people want to interpret Marshal Lin's statement as something it is not, mainly because the goals seem impossible for Red China to attain. We need only recall how, in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler clearly outlined his goals and his plans to attain them. If Mao's strategy for global conquest seems impossible or illogical, contrast the relative positions of Hitler and Mao when they published their respective plans for world conquest. Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf* while in a jail cell, far from any position of authority and power—with just a fanatic's dream that he would eventually be able to pursue his dream in a real world. In contrast, Mao belligerently espouses world revolution from an established and firm base of power. Mao controls over one-fourth of the earth's population, while Hitler had only a handful of faithful followers. Mao has developed a nuclear capability, a vast army well-seasoned in battle, and a growing navy and air force. Hitler had pencil, paper, and a fanatic's dream.

Some scholars may be overlooking one important point, that Mao and his supporters believe they can attain their goals. As long as Mao believes this, the actions he may take can create serious threats to world peace. He has

already demonstrated this by overt aggression against South Korea, Tibet, and India and by fostering revolution and chaos in Indonesia, Africa, and Latin America. Hitler's goals seemed impossible, but he also believed he could conquer Russia and all of Europe. The destruction is all too familiar. Mao's actions have proven that his belligerent threats cannot be ignored. In his acts of overt and covert aggression, with the exception of Korea, he has tried to avoid a direct United States-China confrontation. Failure in one or more ventures does not mean that Mao will abandon his goals. We cannot afford the luxury of thinking otherwise. It has been pointed out that recent Chinese communist reverses in Indonesia, Africa, India, Latin America, and South Vietnam may only cause Mao to take more dangerous and rash actions in an attempt to reverse the trend. Some people believe that when Mao and his companions of long standing, who now rule China, have passed away that Mao's theories will be tossed out the window in the next 10 to 15 years. The average age of the Chinese Politburo, the real seat of power, is over 65. Others believe just as strongly that no change in China's present belligerent posture will occur.

To support the proposition that Mao believes Red China will eventually triumph through promoting world revolution, regardless of the obstacles, let's briefly review the experiences that have helped forge his outlook.

For about 22 of his 70 odd years, Mao Tse-tung led a long—and at times seemingly hopeless—armed struggle against superior forces. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek destroyed his communist cadre in the major cities. Mao salvaged the pieces and from 1927 to 1933, he waged guerrilla warfare against the Nationalist Chinese from rural bases in the mountains of South China. By 1933, Chiang Kai-shek's army totaled about one million men, but Mao's much smaller army held out against five successive attempts by the Nationalists to encircle it. However, by 1934, Mao's position was so precarious that he had to give up bases in South China and begin the legendary Long March to the North. From 1934 to 1935, Mao's army marched about 7,500 miles over rugged terrain, while defending itself against the Nationalists.

Two years after completing the march, Mao led his army against the invading Japanese. By mobilizing the peasants and by skillfully working on nationalist sentiment, Mao used guerrilla warfare to harrass the invading Japanese. Although nominally allied with Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese, Mao continued his political struggle against the Nationalists, and in addition fought three major military engagements against them in 1939, 1941, and 1943.

The global nature of Red China's ambitions is evident today in its vocal encouragements of dissidence and civil strife, particularly in the underdeveloped world, and in its promotion of factions embracing Chinese communist revolutionary theory. Some of these attempts have failed miserably; others have succeeded to the point of winning entire nationalist communist parties to Peking's viewpoint in its dispute with Moscow.

What are Mao's announced views on the use of war as a means to further his goals? Let's read again from the Lin Piao article:

". . . War can temper the people and push history forward. War is a great school. Revolutionary people never take a gloomy view of war."

This view has not changed from what Mao wrote in 1936, some 30 years earlier:

"War is the highest form of struggle between nations, states, classes, or political groups, and all laws of war are applied by a nation, state, a class, or a political group waging a war to win victory for itself."

The former ambassador from the United States to Russia and Yugoslavia, George F. Kennan, said of communist China in a NEW YORK TIMES article on November 22, 1964:

". . . The great country of China, . . . a country which for many years we befriended above all others and in defense of whose interests, in part, we fought the Pacific war, has fallen into the hands of a group of embittered fanatics: . . . consumed with ambition to extend to further areas of Asia the dictatorial authority they now wield over the Chinese people themselves; sponsoring for this reason every territorial claim of earlier Chinese governments for which history could show even the flimsiest evidence; and now absolutely permeated with hatred toward ourselves, not only because the ideology pictures us all as villains, but also because we, more than any other people, have had the strength and the temerity to stand in their path and to obstruct the expansion of their power."

". . . If any political regime in history has ever asked for its own violent destruction, it is this group of men in Peking, who have never ceased to reiterate that their own objective can be achieved only by means of war and violence . . ."

Stewart Alsop, writing in the January issue of the SATURDAY EVENING POST, reinforced Mr. Kennan's views:

". . . it is important to understand that Mao Tse-tung and the other Chinese communist leaders have lived all their lives wholly cut off from real contact with the rest of the world. The only world they know is a world of plots, intrigues, unending violence, and terror used as an instrument of policy. In this Chinese communist world, the incredible is easily believed, and the logical becomes illogical."

It is dangerous to try to read into Mao's words hidden meanings far removed from what he actually says in plain Chinese. To ignore the entirely unambiguous declaration of global conquest by revolution, such as proclaimed in Marshal Lin's article seems to be foolhardy.

One may have gotten the impression that Red China's belligerency is directed mainly at the United States, but this is far from the truth. It is natural

that we as a nation tend to emphasize this aspect, but many people have overlooked the record of Red China's belligerency against neutralist India, the U.S.S.R., and Cuba. The surprise Chinese attack against India in 1962 is well known, as was their ultimatum to India, threatening "grave consequences" in the recent Indo-Pakistani incident. The ultimatum was allowed to fade away, but it reminded India of China's attitude, in case India had forgotten.

Soviet Russia has come in for its share of Chinese communist invective, mainly being charged with a failure to embark on militant world revolution. Marshal Lin, in his article, wrote:

> "Whether one dares to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against the imperialists . . . whether one dares to fight a people's war against them is tantamount to whether one dares to embark on revolution. This is the most effective touchstone for distinguishing genuine Chinese from fake Soviet revolutionaries, genuine Chinese Marxist-Leninists from fake Soviet Marxist-Leninists. . . . It is sheer dreaming to think that . . . we too like the Soviets will lose our revolutionary fighting will, abandon the cause of world revolution and discard Marxism-Leninism."

Fidel Castro, in a statement published in the Cuban press, blasted communist China for interfering in Cuba:

> ". . . We considered the actions of the representatives of the Chinese Government to be in frank violation of the sovereignty of our country and harmful to the prerogatives that pertain exclusively to our government . . . no matter what the cost, our government was not willing to tolerate such things. . . . Despite that warning, made in the most precise and conclusive manner, the Chinese Government and its representatives, with the insolence of the omnipotent and complete scorn for our country, sent more than 800 bags containing bulletins with political propaganda material for distribution in Cuba."

Where is the line to be drawn against this Chinese communist open declaration of global aggression? It is an aggression aimed not just against the United States and Europe, but against the whole human race. History proves that the aggressors' intent usually becomes fact—or at least they have tried to make it so.

COMPETITIVE ECONOMIC SYSTEMS
THE UNITED STATES AND SOVIET ECONOMIES

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union is one of the foremost topics of conversation today. The tension between these two countries is centered primarily in the political sphere. The Soviet Union proclaims the superiority of her system of government and makes it clear by word and deed that she intends to see communism triumphant over the world.

The United States, in concert with her allies, feels obliged to resist the expansion of the communist system. America opposes the expansion of com-

munism not only because it has been associated with Russian imperialism, but much more fundamentally because communism has led to the suppression of basic human rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion. While the Soviet Union has shown some tendencies toward moderation as her system matures, communism has been and remains essentially extremist. Class warfare, particularly between industrial workers ("the proletariat") and business owners ("the bourgeosie"), is glorified. The needs of the state take precedence over individual wishes. If the Soviet Union wishes to force her land-owning farmers ("kulaks") into collective farms, she feels fully justified in doing so, even though farmers and cattle may be slaughtered in the process, as was the case in the early 1930's.

Even though our difference with the Soviet Union is predominantly a political one centering on individual freedoms, the political issue is complicated by economic differences. The communists are convinced that capitalism, or private ownership, corrupts individuals and that a capitalist system inevitably leads to depression and widespread unemployment. They argue that the socialist system is better. Socialism involves centralized planning of economic activity and government ownership of the means of production, such as factories and machinery.

The economic problem is complicated by the fact that while communists are socialists, all socialists are not necessarily communists. For example, a large proportion of western European socialists are not communists. Although non-communist socialists in such countries as Italy have sometimes entered into working alliances with communists, communists frequently denounce non-communist socialists as traitors to the working class and as lackeys of the bourgeosie.

Non-communist socialists advocate central planning and government ownership of the means of production, but usually take a strong stand against the suppression of individual liberties inherent in communism. For example, when the British Labor Party came to power at the end of the Second World War, it advocated a socialist program of nationalization of the Bank of England, of transportation, and of steel. Yet the British press remained among the freest in the world, and the Labor Party made no effort to dictate to British courts, which retained their superb reputation for impartiality before the law.

The issues between capitalism and socialism as economic systems are further complicated by the fact that compromises between the two are possible. Even in some of the communist countries, the economy is not wholly owned and directed from the top, and more or less free enterprise is allowed to exist in limited areas such as farming. On the other hand, certain areas of the American economy—the postal service is perhaps the most obvious example—are owned and operated by the government, and, therefore, might be called "socialized." Many Americans are convinced that a basically capitalist, free enterprise system, with only limited government activity in such areas as postal services and antitrust legislation, is more efficient than a centrally directed and owned economy.

In spite of the complexities of modern economic systems, it is important to evaluate the relative performances of the United States and Soviet economies. This is particularly true when the Soviet Union claims superiority for her economic system and argues that other countries should adopt it.

ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY

The productivity of an economic system is reflected in the total output derived from its total resources, including manpower, capital, equipment, and raw materials. A skilled laborer is more productive than an unskilled laborer. The value of the skilled workers' hourly output is greater because of his skills and highly-productive machinery. Taking the economy as a whole, the greater the average output per man-hour, the greater the productivity. Increased per capita productivity is a key to America's economic achievement. The average worker today, with improved capital, instruments, management, and other resources, is producing six times as much per hour as the worker 100 years ago. This higher productivity allows for higher wages, shorter hours, more leisure, and greater profits for owners and managers.

CONCEPT OF SCARCITY

Generalizations:

The availability of natural resources is one of the prerequisites of economic productivity.

All societies are faced with the problem of scarcity. As a result, decisions must be made concerning the uses to which resources will be put, and the mechanism that makes these decisions is the society's economy. The economies of different societies differ in the manner in which these decisions are made, with the form of property (resource) ownership that the society honors determining the form its economy takes.

Man, the individual, is concerned with the satisfaction of his *wants*.

Wants are satisfied only through the use of some resource, an element in man's environment.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA*
1. The United States has a greater variety of natural resources than any other country, with the possible exception of Russia.	1. Russia has vast amounts of resources.
2. Vast areas of fertile soil, favorable climatic conditions, mechanized machinery, and scientific farming have provided more food per person in America than any other country.	2. It is difficult to achieve a successful agriculture program because of the climatic conditions in most of the farming areas.
3. There is a sufficient coal supply to take care of the needs of this country for over 1,000 years if the demand were to stay at the present	3. There are rich deposits of coal in Russia. In 1963, 532 million tons of coal were mined.**

level. In 1964, America mined 504,182,000 tons of coal. With the advent of atomic power many of the fuels in our industries could be supplanted.	
4. Better utilization of our water resources through the use of dams and reclamation projects has successfully contributed to productivity. Electric-power output was 1,082,422,439,000 kilowatt-hours in 1964.	4. Russia has water resources which can be used effectively for hydo-electric power. Many dams have been built and many more are planned to give power to the industrial expansion. In 1963, electric-power output was 459 billion kilowatt-hours—much less than that of the United States.
5. In 1964, the United States' steel production was 127,075,767 tons.	5. In 1957, Russia produced more pig iron in one month than in the whole of 1913. The government plan is to double its output of iron ore and become the biggest iron ore producer in the world. In 1963, Russia produced 85 million metric tons.
6. The United States' petroleum production in 1964 was 2,805,125,000 forty-two gallon barrels.	6. Soviet production of petroleum in 1964 had risen to 1,646,300,000 forty-two gallon barrels.
7. The amount of our natural resources has contributed toward making America the strongest economy in the world with its people enjoying a higher standard of living than in any other country.	7. Generally speaking, Russia has not developed the industrial organization and other facilities which are required for a high peak of productivity in the use of some of her natural resources.

*While there are direct connections in some cases between the items opposite each other in the parallel listings, it should not be assumed that all of them represent either comparisons or contrasts; some of them stand alone as simply observed characteristics.

**Claimed by Soviet Russia.

CONCEPT OF COMPETITION: An Essential Part of any Economic System

Generalizations:

Each individual is free to enter any trade or business and has the right to compete with anyone else.

Competition tends to create incentive, more and better goods and services, new opportunities, lower prices, and checks and balances on businesses.

Americans desire to be free to take advantage of any and every opportunity that comes to them.

Nobody in the American society should be denied the right to try to succeed.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. American business and industry tends to be competitive. This, in turn, tends to increase the range of choices of consumer goods. Americans have the privilege of rejecting one type of product and selecting another. Choice of goods for consumption forces the producer under competitive conditions to manufacture a quality product at a low price.	1. In Russia there is less competition among sellers than in the United States. This is known as a tendency toward monopoly, meaning "one seller." Without the stimulus of competition, there is less incentive to produce the style and quality of goods desired by consumers.
2. Competition is the basic regulator of the United States economy. If a producer is using men, materials, and equipment to turn out something that people do not want or do not want badly enough to pay the cost of producing it, the effect of competition will very quickly tell him so.	2. Workers compete with each other for better positions and bonuses.
3. Competition is a powerful stimulus to economic thinking and acting. Such activity on the part of American businessmen has induced greater productivity.	3. Although industry is not so diversified as that of the United States, there are still various industries trying to produce better goods and services.
	4. Students in Russia, as in the United States, compete scholastically throughout their educational programs. Only the top students receive higher education and positions of leadership.
	5. A few skilled artisans are self-employed and compete with others of their trade.

CONCEPT: Motivating Factors which are Important in Encouraging Productivity in Every Economic System

Generalizations:

Profit is the part of the selling price which rewards the seller for his foresight, thought, work, time, trouble, and use of his money in bringing the buyer what he wants.

An individual has the right to work for his rewards in the United States.

Profit earning provides an incentive for using time, thought, energy, and tools to benefit individuals or groups willing to take a risk.

Profits in America mean progress for everyone—the owner, the employee and the customer.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET UNION
1. Profit, in the United States, is measured in terms of the amount by which total revenue exceeds total cost.	1. Profits are planned by adding to the cost of output a permitted margin over average planned expense of production. This plan allows for regional differences and other costs. Such planned profits represent savings for promoting capital accumulation rather than rewards for risk-taking.
2. In the free enterprise system, the desire to gain profits is called "the profit motive." This force drives businessmen to undertake the risks and responsibilities that are involved in the operation of a business.	2. The function of planned profits is to regulate consumption or simply to provide funds for investment. Profits are not designed as rewards for efficiency. They may come about simply as a result of efforts to adjust demand to supply.
3. Taxes on net business incomes make up more than one-fourth of the federal government's total revenue. These taxes are used to finance the national defense program; to protect against floods, fires, criminals, and disease; and to finance schools, hospitals, highways, parks, waterways, our postal system, and other services. Many of these are of tremendous value to business itself.	3. Under communism almost all productive wealth is publicly owned. All industry is controlled by a Council of Ministers set up by leaders of the Communist Party.
4. Some of the profits of business are re-invested in the business for expansion and continual improvement of tools and equipment. Expensive research to reduce costs and improve products also is financed through the use of profits.	4. All industry functions under strict state and Party supervision. Machinery and tools (fixed capital) are provided, and the necessary raw materials furnished. The managers are told what goods to produce, how to produce them, and what to charge for them.
5. Wages are the amounts paid for the services of labor. Each worker is competing individually with other	5. Workers in the U.S.S.R. receive considerable sums in the form of pensions, allowances, stipends, free

workers for a better position, higher wages, or to keep his job.

6. Numerous benefits such as bonuses, vacations with pay, sickness benefits, hospitalization plans, etc., are received by millions of workers in addition to their regular wages. These extras are directly related to the ability of the business to earn profits.

education, medical service, and other payments and benefits from the state. These are certainly motivating factors in the process of obtaining higher productivity and good human relationships.

6. The Russian government requires certain business organizations to produce a profit to help finance the nation's capital-accumulation program. A large percentage of this profit goes into the Russian treasury, and a relatively small percentage is retained by the businesses for the payment of bonuses.

CONCEPT: Productivity in any Country is Related to its Education Achievements

Generalizations:

What to Produce. The first problem any society must solve is what goods and services should be produced from among all of the possible alternatives and what quantities of these goods to produce. Since the same resources cannot be used simultaneously to produce two things, decisions must be made as to exactly what to produce.

How to Produce. It is possible to produce goods in various ways, including steel or aluminum, labor or machinery. Once the decision is made as to what to produce, it must be decided exactly how to produce these goods.

For Whom to Produce—Income Distribution. The final decision that must be made concerns the manner in which the output that results from deciding what to produce and how to produce is going to be divided among the people in the society. Who is going to get the final product?

UNITED STATES

1. Education is necessary in our society to assure the scientific and technological development which influences the rate of our productive growth.

2. The United States has a public education system in which, in most states, the individual completes 12 years of education.

SOVIET RUSSIA

1. Russia has made great strides in the last 20 years in improving her educational system. Many of her people have not had the opportunity to receive an education until recently.

2. The student begins school at age seven and completes eight years of primary training. He is then required to complete three years of regular secondary training, either three years of general education, which prepares him for university

	training, or three years of vocational training, which terminates his education.
3. The individual citizen generally has a choice of the occupation in which he feels he can find success and enjoyment.	3. Soviet students are "encouraged" to excel not only in mathematics, chemistry, physics, and languages, but also in music, dancing, sports, etc.
4. The longer our people remain in school, the more opportunities they have for enjoying life at a higher standard.	4. The Soviet channels students into fields where there is a need for more workers. Students are selected on the basis of aptitude and ability. Some students do not have the choice of occupation. At the university level, emphasis is currently being placed on the scientific and engineering fields.
5. The United States does not produce as many graduates in the sciences as Russia, but with the utilization of skilled scientists and modern production techniques, the goods and services produced have given the people a much higher standard of living.	5. Russia plans to reorganize her 10-year school system into various types of urban and rural secondary labor schools. The pupils will combine study with work in factories, on collective farms, and in special workshops. They will be able to receive a complete secondary, general, or polytechnic education.

CONCEPT: The Standard of Living is Related Directly to Productivity

Generalizations:

Americans have the highest standard of living on earth. At the same time, they have learned how to improve health, lengthen life, shorten hours of work, improve and extend education, and increase leisure time. A sustained effort has been made to increase productivity of work. Americans have learned how to spread income among the people, while more goods and services are available than in any other nation in the world.

Americans believe in rewarding a person according to what he does and how well he does it.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The productivity per man-hour has increased our standard of living so that the United States has more consumer goods and services than any other nation in the world.	1. Production in the U.S.S.R. is geared largely to military defense needs. This leaves a scarcity of consumer items, such as agricultural products, automobiles, and appliances.
2. America, with only 6% of the	2. In 1963, production in the

world's land area and 7% of the world's population, owns the following percentage of the world's goods:

a. 85% of the automobiles,
b. 60% of the life insurance policies,
c. 54% of the telephones,
d. 48% of the radios,
e. 46% of the electric power capacity
f. 35% of the railway mileage,
g. 92% of the bathtubs.

3. American workers have to labor less time than people in other countries to buy the same amount of food and other items. The worktime needed to earn one pound of wheat, flour, bread, butter, cheese, potatoes, lard, sugar, and one dozen eggs is one and three-quarter hours. We attribute this mainly to our efficient mass production methods.

4. Factory production totals 50% of the world's output and consequently creates 40% of the world's income.

5. This country uses more than half of the world's natural gas, nickel, and crude petroleum. It also consumes 50% of the world's copper and 45% of the world's iron ore. As a result, production of many varied and diversified products gives the people living conveniences which are not found in other nations.

U.S.S.R. was 184.5 thousand passenger automobiles and in the United States, 7,745 thousand. This indicates that such items are not readily available to Russian consumers. The United States has 30 times as many telephones as Russia, 15 times as many radios, and 3,620,457 miles of improved roads as compared to 30,000 miles in the U.S.S.R.

3. The average Russian worker would have to do several times as much labor to earn the same amount of food as the average American worker.

4. For volume of industrial output, the Soviet Union now holds first place in Europe,* but its output of manufactured consumer goods is much less impressive. Russia plans to increase its standard of living under her current seven-year plan by increasing the gross industrial output 80%. The declared aim of the plan is for consumer goods to constitute 65% of this increase.

* Second place in the world. The United States is first in industrial production.

ECONOMIC GROWTH
OVERVIEW

Economic growth is the expansion of a nation's capacity to produce the goods and services its people need or want. Research is the life-blood of economic expansion. The vast amounts spent on research and development have contributed to the rise in the American standard of living. Capital investment is basic to economic growth. The technological changes of the time result largely from scientific research. Economic growth is often computed by showing the percentage of production increase from year to year.

The economic growth of a society depends on the achievements of individuals. As growth takes place among members of the society, the total result is the upgrading of the whole society with all benefiting from the attainments of each individual. This personal awakening and development means a higher standard of living for the group.

CONCEPT: Growth is a Requisite for the Continued Prestige, if not the very Existence, of an Economic System

Generalizations:

The key to the greatness of America has been personal economic freedom —freedom of choice and action. Individual freedom means competition, and competition brings progress. The freedom of people to try something new, to live where they want to live, to do what they want to do, to buy what they want to buy, to refuse to buy what they do not want to buy—these things are the heart of the American economic system. We must preserve this personal economic freedom. The United States must preserve freedom of choice and action to permit the economic system to grow.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The American government spends billions of dollars annually on scientific research. (This does not include the many additional billions spent by private business and research organizations on scientific research in this country.)	1. The U.S.S.R. probably spends more, directly, or indirectly, on scientific research than does the United States.
2. Additional businesses will be necessary to make and distribute the products of our growing economy.	2. The communists maintain a highly-governmental labor force to supervise government-owned, government-controlled or government-supervised industries, and other public works.
3. In the United States about one-fourth of the national income is used for government operation, which includes very few commodities as distinguished from services.	3. More than two-thirds of the national income is used for government operation, which includes production of many commodities in addition to services.

4. Life expectancy has been increased because of medical research and other factors. The longer life span affects the productive capacity of man, but it may actually lower the average productivity rate. (In 1900 the death rate: 1.7 per cent. Today it is .9 per cent.)	4. Life expectancy is probably higher in Russia today than ever before.
5. Fifty-three million people have been added to our labor force during the last eight decades. The labor force now exceeds 76 million.	5. The U.S.S.R. labor force is about 120 million.
6. During the past 15 years construction has begun on more than fifteen and a half million new non-farm homes. Ninety-seven per cent were privately financed.	6. In Russia almost all new home construction is publicly financed.
7. Many new and flourishing communities have been created during the past 15 years.	7. The government controls all industry and pays little attention to production designed solely for amusement.
8. Consumer goods are much more plentiful and are of much better quality than they were 100 years ago.	8. At present the government places emphasis on the production of industrial equipment, as well as on materials for defense.
9. Even though our population has shown an increase of 28 million during the last 10 years, production is more than keeping up with the need for consumer goods.	9. In 1959, 78% of communist industrial production was in capital goods, including munitions. This left a balance of 22% for consumer goods. It is thought that the percentage of consumer goods has increased in recent years.

CONCEPTS: (1) Leisure Time Offers Opportunity for Participation in Community, Civic, and Social Affairs.

(2) A High Rate of Employment Results in a Higher Degree of Personal and Cultural Growth, Which Means Better Homes, Schools, Churches, Hospitals, and Industries

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The right to make personal choices is one of our freedoms. The exercise of choice and the development of initiative is a growth factor.	1. Most employment is provided by the government and is under strict government control.
2. A large percentage of Americans choose to go to school, after meet-	2. The employee is forced to work where the supervisor thinks he may

ing the minimum requirements.

3. The average American has an annual paid vacation. He often enjoys sight-seeing, hunting, fishing, etc.
4. Some people engage in private business; many are employed in private industry; and many are employed by the local, state, and federal governments.
5. The number of jobs has increased 50% during the last 25 years. As automation absorbs production jobs, service jobs are created which at least partly offset the unemployment.
6. In 1940, one agricultural worker could supply 11 people with farm produce, but now he can supply more than 23 with food.
7. More people are taking advantage of training than ever before. Sixty years ago, one person out of 50 stayed in school past 15 years of age.* Today a high school education is available to nearly everyone of high school age. A high school education will add an average of $65,000 to a person's lifetime earnings. A college education is estimated to add $104,000 more.
8. Ninety-eight per cent of American people above 15 years of age are literate. This factor helps economic growth.
9. In addition to getting better employment and wages, an educationally-trained person also is able to give better services to a community.

* One in 100 went to college.

best fit.

3. The Soviets claim that their workers have liberal vacation allowances and that the vacation resorts are free or nearly so.
4. The high ratio of 50 million workers on farm projects indicates that much hand labor is still in use.
5. If a person is only average in intelligence, he may not have an opportunity for high school or college training.
6. Since the population figures show some 12 to 15 million more females than males, many Russian women may spend their days as production workers or farm laborers.

(No comparable figures for the U.S.S.R. appear to be available for comparison with points (7.) and (8.) in the opposite column.)

ECONOMIC STABILITY

In this section an attempt is made to compare and contrast, through the use of economic concepts, the factors affecting the stability of both the American and Soviet economic systems.

Although economic stability is a very desirable characteristic there is a sizeable body of thought supporting the theory that mild instability has some virtues. A growing economy that aspires to give consumers and producers considerable freedom may have an attached cost in the form of some unemployment and inflation or deflation. The stability of the two economic systems will be related to four concepts in the areas of fiscal policy, monetary policy, automatic stabilizers, and price and wage controls.

CONCEPT: The Stability of all Economic Systems is Based Upon Some Type of Fiscal Policy

Generalizations:

Fiscal Policy. Fiscal policy that is designed to control inflation and recessions consists, essentially, of the use of the government's taxing and spending powers to influence the level of aggregate spending.

One method of dealing with inflation is to withdraw funds from the spending stream by taxation, since an increase in taxes will reduce the disposable incomes of individuals and, thus, will reduce their ability to spend for consumer goods and/or investment goods. This, in turn, will tend to reduce the demand for those goods.

Monetary Policy. Monetary policy to control inflation and recessions consists basically of actions that affect the availability of money and credit (the stock of money) and the price of this credit (the interest rate). By operating on the ability of the commercial banks to make loans, the central bank can create a condition of "easy" or "tight" money in the economy in the hope that these conditions will influence spending decisions by consumers and investors.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The fiscal policy is closely related to the national budget, state budgets, local budgets, and personal budgets.	1. The government has attempted to control inflation through sheer authoritarianism.
2. Taxation is used to promote better distribution of wealth within the economic structure.	2. All important economic activities are governed by the State Budget, which includes receipts from taxes levied upon individuals and institutions, profits accruing to state enterprises, and savings accumulated by individuals. Also included in the budget are expenditures for administration, national defense, public health and educa-

tion, and for the development and maintenance of the fixed capital of the country.

3. Tax rates of three different kinds are used in the United States:
   a. The first classification, proportional taxation, is based on a specific percentage of income and remains the same whether the income is high or low.
   b. The second classification, progressive taxation, is based on the theory that as income increases, an increased percentage of that income should be taken.
   c. The third group, regressive taxes, works a greater hardship on persons of small incomes, because they take a given percentage of the smaller incomes—e.g., the general sales tax.

3. The stability of the system is dependent upon the judgment, knowledge, and decisions of the government finance officers and budgetary inspectors.

4. Federal tax receipts are often classified in six groups: individual income taxes, corporation income taxes, excise taxes, estate and gift taxes, customs, and other taxes.

4. All receipts and expenditures from the Soviet budget are controlled by the state bank.

5. Sources of state tax money are grouped as sales and gross receipts taxes, other taxes (including income and property taxes), and license fees.

5. The state bank approves credit only to those enterprises approved by the state.

6. Local governments rely heavily upon real estate and personal property taxes for their revenue.

6. The state bank determines what economic functions or services shall be performed by all business enterprises.

7. Under the economy of the United States, economic decisions are, in principle, left to individual determination.

7. All enterprises must keep their funds deposited in the state bank.

8. Little national control is exerted in determining the purposes and

8. The turnover tax, a governmental levy to control prices, brings in

functions of business enterprises.

9. Business enterprises are free to invest or deposit their funds as they desire.

10. In governmental enterprise, profit is subordinate to the promotion of public welfare.

11. The stability of the economic system of the United States is more dependent upon the knowledge and judgment of all individuals than in the case of the U.S.S.R.

about 55% of all state receipts. This tax is used as a method of observing and controlling the financial behavior of enterprises. This tax varies from commodity to commodity and from region to region. The turnover tax is a means of maintaining a continuous flow of revenue to the treasury.

9. A personal income tax is based on a graduated rate according to the relative social desirability of the different occupations. Some of this tax is still paid in kind rather than in money.

10. The Soviet Union implements the basic taxation system by the use of revenue taxes on manufactured goods, movie theater taxes, cooperative association income taxes, and collective farm income taxes.

11. A profits tax is assessed and adjusted to the financial activities of each enterprise.

CONCEPT: A Strong Monetary Policy is an Essential Part of a Stable Economy

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The supply of money is influenced by the discount rate that the Federal Reserve Bank charges its member banks.	1. A savings system for each individual is encouraged.
2. The banking system is influenced by the Federal Reserve System, which uses open-market operations, such as buying and selling government bonds, and other less direct devices. (See below.)	2. The state bank rigidly controls credit.
3. The Federal Reserve System helps to stabilize the economy by ma-	3. The price system is designed partly to curtail competition and retard

nipulating the legally required reserve ratio to be maintained by member banks.

4. Federal Reserve authorities exercise considerable influence on monetary policies.
5. Prices are influenced through the policies of the Federal Reserve System.
6. Credit controls are affixed when necessary.
7. Money deposited in nearly all of the banks of this country is insured up to $20,000 by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

inflation, but its operation is far from perfect.

4. Profit from enterprise is subordinate to the over-all purpose of the enterprise, which is often to control the flow of money or to direct the distribution of income and the allocation of resources.

CONCEPT: Various Automatic Stabilizers are Present in all Economic Systems

UNITED STATES	SOVIET UNION
1. A graduated income tax is an important automatic stabilizer.	1. A graduated income tax is an important automatic stabilizer.
2. Unemployment compensation operates also as an important automatic stabilizer.	2. Commodity rationing is an automatic stabilizing factor.
3. Mandatory price supports for agricultural commodities are a type of automatic stabilizer.	3. The cooperative stores and collective farms have a stabilizing effect on the economy.
4. Social security benefits tend to be an automatic stabilizer.	4. The social insurance system is another automatic stabilizer.

Price and Wage Systems are Important Parts of Every Growing Economy

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. Direct price controls have not been used except during wartime emergencies.	1. Russia has attempted to develop a stable price system through the use of the turnover tax, encouragement of a savings system, and a currency reform program.
2. Stimulation to production is sometimes used to stabilize prices.	2. Through planning the supplies of particular commodities, prices are set and adjusted from time to time to coordinate the demand for the goods.
3. Rationing of goods during emer-	3. Exhibitions of new products and

gencies has been used to hold prices steady.

4. There are several types of wage rates in the United States:
   a. A time wage is a stated sum of money paid for services rendered during a specified period of work.
   b. A piece wage is a fixed sum paid for the labor performed in producing one unit of output.
   c. A progressive wage combines a basic fixed time wage with piecework pay for all articles turned out in excess of a specified quantity or with incentive pay based on other formulas.
   d. A guaranteed annual wage is a wage system which assures an employee a specified minimum amount of money income during a period of one year regardless of the amount of work he is called upon to do.
   e. Some wage scales are based upon an "escalator" clause which regulates wages up or down as the cost of living rises or falls according to the quarterly changes in an official index.
5. Wages depend partly on the degree of competition among both workers and employers and on the general conditions of the economy.
6. Labor unions are effective in raising wages and securing desirable fringe benefits for the working people.

designs are set up by government order to promote public acceptance of the price structure.

4. Prices are often held stable by changing production schedules to yield planned scarcities or abundances.

5. A rationing system has been used during most of Soviet history to control prices, to distribute output evenly, or to stabilize production.
6. Cooperative stores are required to sell foodstuffs and manufactured goods at established prices in cities and in workers' settlements.
7. The cooperative stores are required to purchase goods from collective farms or other designated sources of supply.

8. A free, peasant market exists and is relatively uncontrolled.
9. State stores, factory canteens, and cooperatives are required to list the prices they charge for goods. The weights and measures they use are supervised.
10. Consumer credit, as such, is not yet a major institution in Russia, but merchandise may commonly be purchased on a plan whereby the delivery is withheld until the final payment is made.
11. The Soviet wage system has three main forms:
    a. Piece rates are used as a method of increasing production.
    b. Differential wages are used as a device to attract labor to the more essential industries.
    c. Supplemental or cheaper consumer rations are used to encourage labor into industries which are short of workers.
12. The fundamental principle of the wage system of the U.S.S.R. is that of preferential allocation. This principle of communist socialism is embodied in Article 12 of the Soviet Constitution:

> "In the U.S.S.R. work is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' The principle applied in the U.S.S.R. is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'"

ECONOMIC EQUALITY

The economic system of any society should be fair and equitable to all of the individual citizens. Society is composed of individuals, and each one should be given equal freedom and opportunity in economic matters, as well as in social and political matters. In our economic system it is generally felt that the individual should share benefits and dividends primarily in proportion to his contribution to the economy.

CONCEPT: The Individual Citizen Should Have Freedom to Choose His Occupation or Profession

Generalizations:

The United States is fighting and working for the preservation and improvement of a free society.

All men are common in their rights and opportunities in a free society. Men are very frequently *uncommon* in their individual capacities to contribute to the common good of society.

The enterprise system is open to new ideas, new products, new men, and new jobs. There is an opportunity to compete in a free and open market.

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The citizen may choose his occupation or profession if he meets the qualifications—education, skill, dexterity, etc.—and can sell his labor to an employer.	1. Only the highly intellectual and the specially privileged have any opportunity to receive higher education or specialized training.
2. Some occupations, such as gambling and the producing or selling of dangerous or harmful products, may be outlawed by the government.	2. All of those who do not meet government-set qualifications for further education must enter the labor field.
3. Trade unions and professional organizations sometimes set standards which may keep a person from entering an occupation which he would desire.	3. After an individual receives education or training, the government still places some restrictions upon his place of employment. Since it is the policy of the government to control all the economic resources, job placement is dictated by the government.
4. Local zoning regulations may prevent a person from engaging in the business of his choice in a specific location. For examples, taverns, certain industries, or factories in a residential area are often prohibited by law.	4. If a person changes his place of employment of his own free will, he may lose some government benefits, such as health insurance, bonuses, etc., and he may be forced to work in an industry which has many vacancies because

5. Most individuals may leave an occupation and change to another at any time they choose or for any reason, such as higher salary, better working conditions, health considerations, etc.

6. During wartimes when there are labor shortages and emergencies, the government may impose minor restrictions regarding one's place of employment.

of undesirable working conditions.

5. In extreme cases, citizens who rebel against the collective farm system or any other such part of the regime may be placed in slave labor camps. These people may be assigned to very undesirable jobs and have little or no personal freedom.

CONCEPT: Consumers Should Be Free to Purchase Almost any Goods and Services They Desire

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The consumer may purchase goods and services of his choice if he has the financial means and if there are no legal restrictions to protect the safety, health, or morals of the people.	1. The government decides in terms of its own ideas what will be produced; therefore, many harmless items desired by the consumer are not available at any price.
2. Federal, state, or local government restrictions limit or control the sale of some products and services, such as illegal drugs, tobacco and alcohol, fireworks, and explosives, etc.	2. The basic economic goal is to make the U.S.S.R. a strong industrial nation and world power.
3. The government imposes taxes on such goods and services as tobacco, alcohol, luxuries, movies, etc., thereby reducing their consumption.	3. Since production is geared to military, defense, and industrial items, with very little effort directed toward producing consumer items, there is a scarcity of agricultural products, automobiles, appliances, and other items desired by the consumers.
4. Government aid (financial or otherwise) increases consumption of some goods and services, such as education and some types of housing by making them more easily obtained.	4. The Soviet economy is aimed at producing what the government wants the people to have, not what the consumer would like to have.

5. Items and services which the consumer will probably desire are usually available to him since in the private enterprise or profit-motive system, the consumer's choices help to determine what will be produced.	5. Individual consumers must go without satisfying their personal desires in order to make it possible for the government to achieve its goals for the nation.

CONCEPT: The Individual Should Have a Right to Private Ownership of Property

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. An individual may own a house, personal property, land, and stocks; he may have personal ownership in industrial facilities.	1. An individual may own small items of personal property, and occasionally an individual may own his home, but private ownership of land is not allowed.
2. Physicians and other professional people privately conduct their own practices.	2. Physicians and other professional people work directly for the government, but some of them may have a part-time private practice.
3. Individuals, either separately or in groups or corporations, own and operate nearly all industry.	3. The government owns and operates practically all industry.
4. Individuals or groups own and operate nearly all the retail and wholesale distributing facilities.	4. The government owns and operates practically all retail and wholesale distributing facilities.
5. Individuals or groups own and operate the banks, insurance companies, and nearly all other financial institutions.	5. The government owns and operates the banks, insurance companies, and all other financial institutions.
6. Individuals or groups own and operate nearly all farms, including the buildings, tools, and equipment on the farms.	6. The government owns and operates the postal system, the police force, military installations, and all other public services.
7. Governments own and operate the postal system, police force, military installations, some large reclamation projects, some utilities, and a few other enterprises.	7. On the collective farms the government owns the land; the farm, as a unit, owns the means of production and all large equipment; the farmer may own a small house, some small tools, and few animals.

CONCEPT: The Personal Income of an Individual Should Be Determined Largely on the Basis of His Productivity including the Productivity of the Factors of Production Owned by Him

UNITED STATES	SOVIET RUSSIA
1. The distribution of income in the	1. The government determines the in-

United States is very unequal.

2. A person's income may be determined by a competitive system based on productivity and enterprise, or on a noncompetitive system based on order and decree.
3. Unions and professional organizations exert pressure to determine or fix income in some employment.
4. The profit motive helps to determine the income from services.
5. An individual may receive compensation or income from any financial investment or from his control over other workers.
6. Per capita income in the United States is far above that of the Soviet Union.

come of most workers.

2. Contrary to common belief, personal incomes vary greatly in the Soviet Union.
3. A person's income may be dependent upon his skill, the scarcity of that type of worker, and several other factors, including bureaucratic decisions of government officials.
4. People in the scientific and academic fields receive very substantial salaries, while unskilled laborers and farmers in the collective farms can barely exist on their meager incomes.
5. The profit motive, as we think of it, is a very minor factor in the economic system.
6. An individual is sometimes allowed to work only for himself; but norally he works for a cooperative or for the government. Only a very few skilled artisans have the privilege of working for themselves.
7. No able-bodied person is allowed to live entirely on the income which comes from the work of others; all such persons are required to do some work.
8. Per capita income in the Soviet Union is far below that of the United States, but it is increasing at a faster rate.

CONCLUSIONS

What is the record of our economy in terms of the degree to which it serves basic human needs? Are we gaining ground in the reduction of poverty, and are we advancing in our ability to be more productive with the consequent advantages? How well does our economic system contribute to our democratic system and the maximum self-realization of every person?

An economy is only as good as its ability to achieve the goals of the society of which it is a vital part. Under the American economic system the

people have fared well in the preservation of their economic freedoms. Consumption, employment, production, and business are largely free from unnecessary control. Equality of opportunity is held sacred by the American people. Religious freedom and personal security are high on the stepladder of values. The creative arts thrive in the American economic system. Although our record is far from perfect, there is no doubt that our economic system rates well in its ability to provide a healthy environment for the free exercise of these human values. The real question is "How can we do better?"

Life under relatively free enterprise versus life under communism is best studied through both contrasts and comparisons. The standard of living of the average American family is sufficiently high to allow much more personal liberty than that enjoyed by the average Russian family. It seems incredible that large numbers of our people should ever find communism attractive. It is important to realize, however, that our freedom rests ultimately upon the *moral strengths* and *intellectual skills* of the people within the economic and social system.

We need to be alert to avoid being tempted into the folly of trying to out-Russian the Russians in meaningless races. What we need to do is to concentrate primarily on making the American system work better in its own way.

Adapted from the report, *American and Soviet Economics*
A Contrast and Comparison,
Brigham Young University Workshop on
Economic Education.

Beginning Readings in Economics,
Council for Advancement of
Secondary Education
Monograph 110
South-Western Publishing Company.

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENTS

"The competition for men's minds begins when they are students. This is when they must be taught to discriminate between truth and falsehood. Specifically, this is when they must be taught to discriminate between the American form of government and the Soviet form. When they have all the facts, I am confident they will make the correct choice, as they have for the past 181 years."

"Ignorance of communism, fascism, or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease."

— Dwight D. Eisenhower

"It is most urgent that the American educational system tackle in earnest the task of teaching American youth to confront the reality of totalitarianism in its toughest, most militant form, which is communism, with the facts and values of our American heritage."

— John F. Kennedy

Preface

The following assumptions are made in preparing this basic guideline. They should be kept in mind as it is being read and used.

1. In order to be an effective citizen in our society, a knowledge of the competing ideologies in the world is essential.
2. In learning about competing ideologies through the study of comparative governments, primary attention should be given to the nature of totalitarianism.
3. The studies of communism and fascism should be contrasted with the basic studies of our American democratic way of life.
4. The sequential program in which units are worked into existing social studies and English programs is suggested. The subjects of communism and fascism are continually faced by all secondary social studies teachers, both in work from the basic text and from current events publications. It does not seem desirable to wait until the 11th or 12th grade for study and discussion of these topics. The student who drops out of school is not reached if the program is delayed too long.
5. The program, to be effective, must employ a variety of instructional materials so that teachers can select those which best meet the *abilities* and *interests* of their students. A major emphasis should be placed on audio-visual materials to enrich the textbook and other written text material.
6. Instructional materials selected should be objective and accurate, usable in the classroom, and should fit the varying ability levels and goals of the students.
7. An intensive and continuous program of in-service training for teachers should be organized.
8. Adult education lecture-discussion and film programs on communism and fascism could be set up so that the regular school program becomes part of a community-wide effort.
9. Every effort should be made to acquaint the community with the school program on comparative government.

Goals

The following are goals of a study of comparative government:

1. To develop in students an understanding and an appreciation of the American heritage, the American constitutional form of government, and the American way of life.
2. To develop in students an understanding of the nature of totalitarian government with special attention given to communism and fascism.
3. To develop in students an awareness of the threat to the individual and to the free world posed by totalitarian governments.
4. To develop in students the critical thinking capacity that will enable them, as citizens, to think and act on the world situation with knowledge and vision rather than with hate and fear.

Common Learnings

a. Basic Themes

1. To acquaint students with the lands and peoples of China and Russia.
2. To acquaint students with other lands and peoples influenced by communism or fascism—(totalitarianism).
3. To acquaint students with current events in the cold war.
4. To acquaint students with the history of World War II and the fascist roles of Germany, Italy, and Japan.
5. To acquaint students with the history of the cold war and the roles of Russia, China, and their satellites in the cold war.
6. To acquaint students with current events in the cold war.

b. Instruction Program

1. Units on Russia and China, which include study of geography, history, culture, and current problems. Specific work might be done with conditions leading to the communist revolutions in Russia and China, with collective farms, life under a totalitarian government, cultural and scientific achievements, and biographies of famous men.
2. Units on other countries, such as Egypt and Japan, which include study of geography, history, culture, and current problems. Reference can be made to the influence of fascism and communism on these countries.
3. A continuous program for keeping students acquainted with current events in the cold war.
4. A unit including a study of World War II. Specific work might be done with the rise and fall of Adolph Hitler, World War II alliances, and biographies of fascist leaders.
5. A unit including a study of the cold war. Specific work might be done with World War II agreements, the Korean War, Marshall Plan, the Hungarian revolt, the conquest of Tibet, the Indo-China war, and foreign aid.

Advanced Level: Common Learnings

a. Basic Themes

1. To compare capitalist, fascist, socialist, and communist economic systems.
2. To compare democratic, fascist, and communist forms of government.
3. To acquaint students with current events in the cold war.
4. To acquaint students with the history of the Russian Revolution and the development of communism in the Soviet Union.
5. To acquaint students with the history of the development of communism in China.
6. To acquaint students with the social, economic, and political implications of the communist attempt at world domination and with our attempts to counteract it.

b. Instructional Program

1. A unit including a study of communist, fascist, and socialist economies would follow a study of the capitalist economy.
2. A unit including the study of comparative governments. A comparative study of communist and fascist governments would follow a study of our democratic government.
3. Unit of the United States and the Soviet challenge including the history of the Russian Revolution, the development of communism in the Soviet Union, the attempt of the Soviet Union to gain world domination, and our policies regarding the Soviet Union and the world-wide challenge.
4. Unit on China including the history of the development of communism in China, the attempts of Red China to extend its influence beyond its borders, and our policies toward the two Chinas.
5. Units on world regions including studies of the force of neutralism, of communist and other totalitarian influences, and of our foreign aid program.
6. A continuous program for keeping up-to-date in current events of the cold war.

United States History Program

a. Basic Themes

1. To acquaint students with the history of our conflicts with totalitarian powers.
2. To compare the philosophies of communism, fascism, and democracy.
3. To acquaint students with current events in the cold war.

b. Instructional Program

1. Unit on the development of the world leadership role of the United States including a study of the role of fascism during World War II.
2. Unit on democracy versus communism including a study of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and its application in the Soviet Union, China, and other communist countries.
3. Unit on capitalism including comparative studies of communism, socialism, and capitalism.
4. Continuous program in current events.

c. Instructional Materials

Supplementary Books and Articles:	**Films:**
Colegrove, *Democracy vs. Communism*, Van Nostrand.	"Twisted Cross"
Edited, *What You Should Know About Communism and Why*, McGraw Hill Book Co.	"Divide and Conquer"
C.A.S.E., *Capitalism and Other Economic Systems.*	"The Korean War"
	"World War II"
	"Defeat of Japan"
	"Hungarian Revolution"
	"The Hoaxters"

Hoover, *Masters of Deceit,* Pocket Books.
Gordon, *The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire,* Monarch.
Edited, *National Socialism,* Holt, Rinehart, Winston.
Edited, *Historical Document of World War II,* Van Nostrand.
Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich,* Crest.
Edited, *The Yalta Conference,* Heath.
Edited, *Great Issues in American History Volume II,* Vintage.
Bragdon, *History of a Free People,* Macmillan.
Gavian, *The American Story,* Heath.
The above are suggested. Many other reputable publishing houses have excellent supplemental books.

d. Place the following in the total 11th grade social studies program:
   1. Constitutional Government
   2. Meaning of Democracy
   3. Federal Supremacy vs. States Rights
   4. Capitalism
   5. Depression and New Deal
   6. World Leadership
   7. Democracy vs. Communism

American History — Non-College Bound:

Readings will be taken from selected landmark books, easy supplementary books, and easy-reading current events material. In addition, the audio-visual material listed above will be used.

Uttley, Aitchison, & Glendinning, *Eurasia, Africa, and Australia,* Ginn and Co., "The Soviet Union" pp. 257-286, "China" pp. 287-310.
Lamb, *Chief of the Cossacks,* Landmark.
Jackson, *Soviet Union,* Fideler.
Jackson, *China,* Fideler.
Badley, *U.S.S.R.-World Geography Reader,* C. E. Merrill.
Badley, *China-World Geography Reader,* C. E. Merrill.
Spencer, *The Land of the Chinese People,* Lippincott.
Nazaroff, *The Land of the Russian People,* Lippincott.
Wilder, *This is America's Story,* Houghton Mifflin, World War II, pp. 605-622, Cold War, pp. 622-627, 653-663.
Literature: Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of Adolph Hitler,* Landmark.

Guidelines for Teachers

A. *Selection of Materials by the Teacher*

The teacher should select those instructional materials which will best fit the *abilities* and *interests* of his students and which the teacher feels best qualified to handle. In the school library, the teacher will find other material in current events, periodicals, encyclopedias, etc., which can be used to supplement the classroom materials.

Teachers should not use any books, films, or other instructional materials which do not have approval for use in the schools. Teachers who wish to use such material should follow the established procedures for having new material approved, as prescribed in the local school.

B. *Working with Controversial Issues*

The study about communism and fascism involves social and economic problems which may fall in the category of controversial issues; teachers and administrators should conform to the school policy.

These policies usually permit the teaching of controversial issues, but provides adequate safeguards for the pupils and the teachers.

COMPARISONS OF COMPETITIVE POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The American student must be taught to appreciate and understand that life in these United States is deeply affected by the attitude of his fellow citizens toward the fundamental laws and doctrines in the great government documents, including the Bill of Rights and the Constitution.

A study of the political, economic, and social systems of the republican form of a representative democracy and of international communism shows the areas of conflict and difference.

One of the objectives of the study of governments is to enable the student (as a citizen) to make intelligent decisions. Knowledge is the key to making wise judgments.

FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Representative Democracy	**Totalitarianism — Communism**
Individual human dignity is recognized. Individual freedoms are guaranteed. The free individual—	The individual is controlled and restricted by government. The totalitarian state—
has the guarantee of freedom to speak.	limits individuals to expressions of agreement with party policy; opposition to official policy is considered as deviation and illegal.
possesses the r i g h t to assemble peaceably.	restricts meetings. Approved meetings must be licensed by party administrative authorities.

has the benefit of freedom of the press, radio, and T.V.	controls all means of communication which are used to indoctrinate or propagandize.
is protected by the guarantee of freedom against unreasonable search of seizure. Warrants supported by oath or affirmation must be issued.	permits search and seizures in private dwellings for legal use by the military or the Ministry of Internal Affa[illegible]. A warrant is not required.
cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of the law.	conducts purges, arrests suspects or questionable persons, and permits punishment without trial. The Peoples Commissariat of the Interior has such power.
travels freely within the country and abroad, without undue restrictions.	limits individual local travel by requiring passports. Passports must be registered within the country indicating arrival and departure from any locals.

THE GOVERNMENT: ITS FUNCTION AND RELATION TO THE INDIVIDUAL

Representative Democracy Minority rights are respected and protected although the government is controlled by the majority. The democratic government—	**Totalitarianism — Communism** The government conducts elections. The individual is subordinate to the government. The government—
based on the Constitution is a government of *law*, not men.	Constitution is a facade used for its propaganda. It is a government of *men*.
through the Constitution guarantees to the states powers not delegated to the federal government.	allows the republics and provinces no power. The central governmental authority controls all subdivisions.
is planned and functions to serve and protect the individual.	seeks to d i r e c t the activities and control the individual.
attempts to educate and urge individuals to fulfill duties of citizenship voluntarily.	requires the people to subscribe to and fulfill party obligations. Force or threat may be employed to assure this duty.
through the Constitution permits the individual the right to seek and be elected to public office.	chooses the preferred candidates for public office to guarantee compliance with political party policy.

recognizes and respects the opinion and position of minorities and nonconformists. Such groups are required to operate within the law.	does not tolerate opposition; opposition to party policies are suppressed by extreme disciplinary action.
by law allows the people to use the free ballot to express disapproval as well as approval of governmental policies.	provides only limited opportunity for the people to express their ideas or convictions. Party members or leaders direct discussions or indoctrination sessions.

THE POWERS OF THE CHIEF OF STATE

Representative Democracy	**Totalitarianism — Communism**
The people elect individuals for public office by law in free elections. The elected officials—	Dictators achieve the position of undisputed power through manipulation or a power thrust and takeover. The totalitarian party—
recognize government law as being *of, by,* and *for* all the people.	is controlled by the party head who has dictatorial and often absolute power.
under Constitutional law have limited authority and prescribed duties.	uses whatever force is necessary to rule with absolute authority.
have a responsibility to promote and protect the general welfare of the electorate.	regards the welfare of the state over that of the individual citizen. The dictator cannot be voted out of office by free election.
serve for a specified term in office.	
govern under a system of checks and balances achieved by separation of powers.	administers the process and institutions of government including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches to maintain absolute control and protect the regime and the state.

POLITICAL PARTY SYSTEMS

Representative Democracy	**Totalitarianism — Communism**
Political parties are formed by free citizens to express political convictions. A representative democracy—	One political party may represent a small percentage of the population and yet dominate the political situation. The totalitarian party—
has the party system functioning on	in power controls all political sub-

national, state, county, and local levels. Additional parties can be formed under the law.	divisions from the highest office down through local units.
allows unlimited membership in free political parties. Each party works to increase its enrollment and influences.	membership consists of a relative small corps of selected and dedicated members from a minority of the total population.
provides for the selection of candidates for public office through elections called primaries.	actually selects each candidate for official political office through controlled elections.
provides free choice of candidates for public office for the various offices being filled. Competition for public office is encouraged.	permits ballots offering only the party-approved candidate for each office.
permits the candidate and his party to develop and campaign with freedom of speech and press.	utilizes the so-called election campaigns as a device to advocate party policy and aggrandizement of selected candidates.
affords the freedom to choose the candidates by secret ballot.	creates a false picture through party-controlled elections. The single candidate "wins" without opposition.

THE FAMILY, HOUSING, AND ORGANIZATIONS

Representative Democracy	**Totalitarianism — Communism**
The family is considered an essential and vital social unit. The family—	The State tends to replace the family function. The totalitarian state—
housing is generally determined by family income and personal desires. Low-income families are taking advantage of increasingly available property for those who have limited incomes. Homes are often manifestations of personal taste and wishes.	drastically limits private ownership and generally fails to provide adequate housing. Families share housing units that are small and have little privacy.
enjoys the right to belong to religious organizations and to select desired civic and recreational clubs.	dictates the nature of group activity for all citizens. Membership is permitted only in approved organizations which are usually strongly political in character.

seeks to support churches and schools in programs to develop values—moral, political, religious, ethical, and educational.	insists that the family be an active educational unit to indoctrinate small children in party ideology.
stresses the aspect of respect for individual human dignity. The motivating forces of loyalty and love are recognized.	places party loyalty above family loyalty. It has encouraged children to be disloyal to parents who were not following the party line.
	gives greater emphasis to state indoctrination than to family values. Summer camps, nursery schools and kindergartens are established to assure acceptance of state views.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

Representative Democracy School systems vary in democracies. In the United States local support and control is encouraged. The school—	**Totalitarianism — Communism** Fixed state control of education features indoctrination in party ideology. The totalitarian state—
seeks to develop the individual to his fullest potential.	focuses education on service to the state. The development of the individual is secondary.
emphasizes the necessity of developing an appreciation and understanding of the privileges of citizenship and responsibilities of citizenship.	slants its educational program to indoctrinate students to assure blind acceptance of civic duties and responsibilities.
attempts to teach students to think analytically and critically and encourages the making of wise, free choices.	emphasizes the necessity of learning and following party doctrine without questions.
advocates the recognition of individual worth and dignity.	places the state first above all else.
stresses moral and ethical values and seeks to cooperate with other social institutions to realize established goals.	honors allegiance to the state above all other values. Compliance to party ideology is the ultimate objective.
recognizes the cultural and social contributions of other civilizations by studying and seeking to understand all people from all lands through the ages.	praises the accomplishments of socialism using planned propaganda. Conflicting ideologies are ridiculed and interpreted in an unfavorable light.

permits the student to develop as the result of talent, motivation, and personal interest and desires.

affords the opportunity to appreciate fine arts and encourages creativity.

in search of truth advocates academic license to select curriculum materials and teach sound methodology.

restricts advanced educational opportunity by selective approach.

controls the art forms and does not allow freedom of expression. Socialism is exalted through art.

regulates the curriculum in all schools. Text materials are prepared under state control. The party line is echoed in all subject areas to insure loyalty to the party and the teachers must be in agreement with the party line.

POINTS OF INTEREST CONCERNING SOVIET RUSSIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:

1. *Length of the Soviet school year*: 210 days, six days a week.
2. *Curriculum*: 50% of the 11-year school curriculum is devoted to physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, and mathematics. Foreign language instruction begins in the fifth grade.
3. *Vocabulary*: first grade readers cover 2,000 words and by the fourth grade textbooks encompass 10,000 words.
4. *Percentage of Soviet College Students in Technical and Scientific Fields*: 60%.

RELIGION

Representative Democracy

In the United States religion exerts a strong influence. In most democracies church and state are separated. Religious freedom in the United States is cherished. The free individual—

worships in the church of his choice.

Totalitarianism — Communism

Churches and religion are tolerated but generally limited and objects of ridicule. The totalitarian state—

is most frequently committed to militant atheism. In Russia religious services are conducted only with consent of local soviets.

selects his church and supports it as he sees fit.	has confiscated all church property.
enjoys the right to form religious groups or sects and build new churches.	has closed many of the existing churches and prohibits building of new ones.
subscribes, purchases, or contributes to religious publications.	teaches atheism as a part of the school program. Religious education is prohibited in the schools.
can obtain and use the *Bible* at will.	forbids the printing of the *Bible*.
is guaranteed separation of church and state by law.	controls or limits religious practices and activities through governmental agencies.
exercises his rights in pursuit of his religious convictions. Religious beliefs are respected.	maintains strict party control without regard for religious beliefs.
considers his religion as a part of national culture. It is observed and deemed a guiding factor in the lives of many citizens.	considers religion a threat to the ideology.

STRATIFICATION

Representative Democracy Those who have the ambition and competency to perform and produce enjoy equality of opportunity. The free individual—	**Totalitarianism — Communism** The proclaimed "classless society" is a facade. The system is controlled by a select ruling group. The totalitarian state—
can improve his social position through his diligence and capacity to perform successfully.	shows preferences for members of the party in power. Party leaders proceed to higher social brackets.
desiring to progress may pursue advanced courses to increase his competence and thereby realize greater opportunity.	uses examinations to select those who will be permitted to pursue higher educational programs.
may select his profession or vocation and change his work voluntarily.	manages laborers and workers in general. Jobs are assigned and workers must seek permission to change jobs.
enjoys a high standard of living	manufactures items determined by

which encourages upward mobility. Opportunities for self-improvement exist and motivate ingenuity.

state planners. The production of consumer goods is regulated. The standard of living of the majority is limited.

creates stratification of classes, while claiming to produce a "classless society."

SOCIAL AID PROGRAMS

Representative Democracy

The individual is expected to provide for his needs if possible. Assistance programs are available from both private and public sources. The free individual—

who is indigent can frequently qualify for social assistance from the local, county, state, or federally-operated programs.

is permitted to participate in social health and welfare programs sponsored by both private and public groups.

Totalitarianism — Communism

State operated and rigidly controlled programs are extensive and available to citizens. The totalitarian state—

administers and controls welfare and relief programs for the workers. Services are limited for some segments of society.

MILITARY FACTORS

In the United States and many representative democracies the military forces are needed for defense. It is necessary to maintain relatively large active organizations to achieve a balance of power with totalitarian-communist countries that continue to develop strong and sophisticated military machines.

Following World War II, the democratic nations demobilized armed personnel, but the Soviet Union retained troops to control dominated satellite nations. The satellite nations also maintain military forces to supplement those in the Soviet Union. The leaders of communist countries have refused to agree to arms inspection. While supporting the outlawing of atomic weapons, they continue to insist upon no controls. The free world refuses to outlaw the use of nuclear weapons unless the communist world agrees to a workable and realistic inspection plan.

The stronger communist nations have consistently supported other communist countries in their policies of aggression in Korea, Cuba, Laos, South Vietnam, and other parts of the world.

Through foreign aid programs the democratic nations have provided smaller powers both military and economic assistance to maintain freedom and political autonomy.

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Democracy Confronts Communism in World Affairs with a syllabus and bibliography prepared by the U.S.C. Institute of International Studies affords a most practical guide for teachers. It is a product of scholarly studies well tested in institutes, workshops, and seminars. Dr. Richard Walker and his staff created an excellent publication with breadth of scope, diversity and sound flexibility. It affords suggested depth reading materials. It can be used for ready reference.

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June 1, 1970
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The Soviet Union, Communistic Power (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co.).
The United States and the Soviet Challenge (River Forest: Laidlaw Brothers).

BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY
TEACHING FILMS

Who Goes There? A Primer on Communism. Parts 1 and 2. McGraw-Hill Text-Film Division. (54 minutes—B&W—$250)

This film is an attempt to answer the vital question: What is communism? In order to do it, the film examines the history of socialism and introduces the remarkable men who have created communism . . . Marx, with his ideology . . . Lenin, with his revolution . . . Stalin, with his totalitarianism . . . and Krushchev with his imperialism. The film traces the evolution of communist thought and actions from the ideal communities of Fourier to communism as practiced in Russia today. A history of Russia from the days of Genghis Khan to the present is shown and a realistic appraisal of the gain and setbacks of communism is advanced in summary. An NBC NEWS Production.

The Soviet Challenge (Industrial Revolution in Russia). Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation. (26 minutes—B&W—$150)

A documentary film report on two important phases of the industrial revolution in Russia from 1918 to date: the rapid development of heavy industry and the continuing struggle to develop and collectivize the nation's farmland. Considers the effects of the Communist plan on all phases of Russian life and examines the nature of the Soviet challenge of the free world.

Nightmare in Red. McGraw-Hill. (55 minutes—B&W—$275)

This first authentic reconstruction of the historical drama of Communism inside Russia covers the Old Czarist order, the revolution of 1905 and 1917, the Provisional Government, the early days of the Communist era, the Purge Trials, World War II, up to the uncertain conditions of today. An NBC "Project 20" Production.

Red China. McGraw-Hill. (54 minutes—B&W—$275)

The film first traces the rise of Mao Tse-tung and the communists during the savage civil war against Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists from 1946 to 1949. The film then focuses on communist China's successful five year plan, followed by the disastrous "great leap forward." Then, with the use of exclusive films made by famed Swiss photographer Fernand Gigon inside communist China, this film examines (1) the changes that have occurred under the communist regime in the past few years, (2) the Soviet Union and other nations, (3) Red China's growing strength and widening influence, and the threat it poses to world peace. An NBC "White Paper" Production. Chet Huntley narrates.

The Twisted Cross. McGraw-Hill. (55 minutes—B&W—$275)

The rise and fall of a dictator is seen in this story of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi movement, as recreated almost entirely through captured German film. An NBC "Project 20" Production.

The Face of Red China. McGraw-Hill. (54 minutes—B&W—$275)

A filmed report on conditions inside Communist China based on exclusive

film photographed in China in November and December 1958. Produced by CBS Television.

The Death of Stalin, Parts 1 and 2. McGraw-Hill. (54 minutes—B&W—$275)
On March 5th, 1953, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin died. His heirs pledged to work together even as they were plotting to destroy each other. Within four months Lavrenti Beria, the head of the Secret Police, was liquidated and three contenders for Stalin's power remained: Malenkov, Molotov, Khrushchev. This film sheds light on the era of Stalinist tyranny and details the events leading up to the dreaded dictator's death. It is documented with first-hand reports from many prominent persons—government leaders, diplomats, journalists, former communist leaders—who were eye-witnesses to developments in Russia during this turbulent period. An NBC NEWS Production.

The Rise of Khrushchev. McGraw-Hill. (54 minutes—B&W—$275)
The struggle to succeed Stalin went on for five years. This film tells how Nikita Khrushchev won that struggle: how he rose to power, the conditions that made his rise possible, the tactics that he used. This period of Khrushchev's rise includes the intricate in-fighting that went on behind the scenes in the Kremlin during the era of "de-Stalinization," the summit meeting with President Eisenhower, the Poznam riots in Poland, the Hungarian and East German uprisings and their brutal suppression by Russian tanks, Sputnik—ending with Khrushchev's final triumph as head of the party and head of the government. An NBC NEWS Production.

China Under Communism. Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation (22 minutes—color—$240)
This documentary is an uncensored, eye-witness report by John Strohm, the first authorized U. S. newsman permitted to travel in Red China and photograph what he saw. The film shows communist methods of forcing radical and sweeping changes in traditional patterns of living; describes China's most critical social and economic problems, and considers the possible effects of communist success in China on world security. This revised edition includes additional information recently obtained by John Strohm through interviews with scores of refugees from Red China.

Defining Democracy. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films. (18 minutes—B&W—$90)
Combining dramatic scenes with animation, the film compares the signs that distinguish a democratic community—shared respect and shared power—with signs of despotism—restricted respect and concentrated power. The conditions that favor the growth of democracy are compared with the conditions that encourage despotism—economic balance and enlightenment as opposed to slanted economic distribution and controlled information.

Arnold Toynbee's Lecture No. 14—Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation.

Nationalism, Democracy, Communism—Part 1. (29 minutes—B&W—$130)
Nationalism, Democracy, Communism—Part 2. (24 minutes—B&W—$100)
Nationalism, Democracy, Communism—Part 3. (22 minutes—B&W—$100)

Communist Blue Print for Conquest. Norwood Films. (33 minutes—B&W)—Method communists use to seize political power explained by Boris H. Klosson, Department of State.

The Red Myth. National Instructional Television Library. (13 lessons—30 minutes each—B&W)

Supplementary instruction for senior high school students. Documents history of Communism from Marx to Khrushchev. Explores some major fallacies in this system of thought. Dramatic scenes adapted from speeches, writings of significant figures of the period are used to highlight events described. Documentary film clips.

Russian Communist Revolution. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. (29 minutes—B&W)

Current Communist program as seen by people of United States, as viewed by underprivileged people of the world. Industrial, agricultural, scientific changes in Russia. Spread of Communism after World War II.

The Communist Party in Japan. Indiana University. (29 minutes—B&W—$125)

Reviews progress of Communist Party in Japan from pre-war days to present. Release from prison of leading communist leaders just after World War II. Discusses high degree of trained leadership, party and party's influence in politics.

The U.S.S.R. (Pt.1). University of Iowa. (29 minutes—B&W)

Concept of Communism as practiced in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, geographical setting of this largest nation in the world. Simplified explanation of basic ideas of Communism. Historical growth of the U.S.S.R. since revolution of 1917. Physical size, population, major land regions, climate, resources, expansion of its power in the 20th century. Comparison of status of U.S.S.R. with U.S. in terms of providing necessities of life for its citizens.

Communistic Europe. (Pt. 2). University of Iowa. (29 minutes—B&W)

Life of people in satellite nations of U.S.S.R. Statements made by governments of these nations compared with statements by others who have observed firsthand. How nations of western Europe under domination of Soviet Union have made progress: rebuilt cities, produced more food, but not enough. These nations have failed their people, particularly in democratic rights.

Iron Curtain Lands (post-Stalin Period). Produced by Grover-Jennings, 1958. Color and B&W, 1 reel, 20 minutes.

The Case of Comrade 'T'. Produced by Warner Pathe Films, 1956. Color, 1 reel, 23 minutes.

The Decline and Fall of Joseph Stalin. Produced by Hearst Metrotone News, Inc., 1962. B&W, 1 reel, 12 minutes.

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The film entitled, *We'll Bury You*, produced by Columbia Pictures, running time 118 minutes, is regarded by authorities as one of the best available for instructional and convincing arguments against the Communist Program. It is available from Community Sound Film, 2613 Sanjacinto, Houston, Texas.

Text Film Division
McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
330 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Czechoslovakia: From Munich to Moscow. (1962). 27 minutes, $150.
Traces history of Czechoslovakia from Munich Pact of 1938, liberation in 1945 when Russian troops swept into Prague, final Communist takeover in 1948. Shows that Czechs strongly misunderstood aims of international Communism. A CBS NEWS "20th Century" Production narrated by Walter Cronkite.

The Fall of China. (1962). 26 minutes. $135.
Traces history of civil war in China from 1945 to capture of Nanking, Shanghai and Canton by the Communists. Statements by General Barr, General Wedemeyer, Pearl Buck and Mme. Chiang Kai-shek present differing opinions on why China fell. CBS NEWS "20th Century" series.

Norwood Films
926 New Jersey Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

The Anatomy of Aggression. (1961). 29 minutes, $95.
Reviews Communist activities during past 15 years and emphasizes conflicts between democracy and totalitarianism. Produced by U. S. Information Agency.

Enclyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation
425 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 68611

Berlin: Test for the West. (1962). 22 minutes, $105.
Dramatic new film sequences of Berlin from fall of Third Reich to building of the Wall. Reviews political events which led to present crisis, shows tragic consequences for people of Berlin, explains deep commitment of Western powers to keep West Berlin free of Communist control.

Films Relating to Communism. An annotated survey of 1000 films of interest to public affairs specialists, historians, teachers, and scholars examining Communist affairs. Compiled by James A. Cook. Availability: The Research Institute, University of Southern California, University Park, Los Angeles, California 90007. Price $4 (discount $2.50 to teachers, students, and bookdealers).

GEOGRAPHICAL, ECONOMIC AND GOVERNMENTAL BACKGROUND NOTES TO SUPPLEMENT INSTRUCTION

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In response to the demand on the part of American citizens for up-to-date information on the countries of the world, the Department of State has issued a series of leaflets—*Background Notes.* They briefly describe the land, people, history, government, economy, foreign policy, and United States relations with each country. They also contain maps, list of principal government officials and U. S. officials, and, in some cases, give a selected bibliography. These short, factual summaries should be of use to students, teachers, study groups, travelers, and businessmen going abroad. They cost 5¢ each unless specified otherwise.

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